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BOHN IN KENTUCKY

FINDS SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY IN A GRATIFYING CONDITION THERE.

Its Unity and Class-Consciousness Affords Striking Contrast To S. P. Dissensions and Conflict of Tactics—Trades-Unionism, the Race Question, and the Recent Political Upheaval.

Marion, Ind. Dec. 3.—Gratifying indeed, is the condition of our party in Kentucky. A State so largely agricultural can hardly be expected to ring with the blows of the class struggle. It contains only three industrial cities of any considerable size. These are Louisville, (200,000); the urban group of Newport, Covington, etc., (80,000) and Paducah (25,000).

In Louisville, although the Socialist Labor Party polled a few less votes than the Debs' Party this year, our organization is much the stronger of the two. In striking contrast to the fine spirit of unity which marks the activities of our Section, the "Socialist" party local is sundered into two factions, which, despite the repeated attempts of the "Socialist" State Committee, cannot be brought together. A third group organized an independent "Propaganda Club" during the heat of the campaign. But this is said to have broken up. Elements which could not agree while the enthusiasm of the campaign acted as a partial bond of union, will hardly be found in each other's embrace during those fretful days of stomach troubles and divorce which are already upon the Debs' family.

The heart of the hair-plucking contest among the "Socialists" at Louisville is the Trades Union Question. A recalcitrant member refused to knuckle under the fakirs. "Throw him out of the party," shouted a few who never worried because Kelly voted for a franchise steal at Marion, Ind., and then got one himself; but who trembled in their boots lest trades unionists cut the ticket. And then there were others who saw the matter in a different light, even claiming that a man might continuously oppose capitalist "labor unions" and still be a Socialist. Of course each faction claims to be the Local and ignores the others. Result—one of their best members comes to the Socialist Labor Party and after declaring his intention to join, hastens back to his late comrades with a bundle of "The Difference" for each faction. Others are on the point of following.

Now, ye Socialist Labor Party veterans everywhere, from New York City to the loneliest gulch of Colorado, what difference does it make to you and me that Debs received more votes in Louisville than Corregan? If you have had a sinking feeling in the stomach, feel ashamed of it all by yourself and get out and hustle. Verily, verily, to "Gain the whole world and lose your own soul" isn't it with the new version—what profiteth it a movement to gain a half million votes and quail before the outposts of the enemy by compromising truth and making friends among them?

In Newport and Covington, where Section Cincinnati did yeoman service during the recent campaign, our vote was increased, if my memory serves me right, from about 50 to over 270. And this is the face of the fact that the two towns are the "Socialist" party stronghold in Kentucky, and the seat of their State Committee. The outlook for a strong Section there is promising and the eyes of the party will be fastened upon Section Cincinnati, which must do the work.

But of all points this side of Peabody's Caliphate, Paducah incited most interest. Situated in the extreme western portion of the State, this city is entirely American and largely "Southern" in character. I remembered this District situated in the angle of the great rivers, as hot-bed of secession during the Civil War. Paducah has just given a fine vote for Corregan. I believe that the figure is 65 to 34 for Debs. "How about the race issue among our Southern comrades?" thought I, as the train sped along the south side of the beautiful Ohio. The next day at noon, I halted one of the Paducah shops, where our comrades have been doing effective work. As I looked into the eager, intelligent faces of those young men, the question as to whether the old American population of the South would be "there with the goods" in the great days seemed answered. Capitalism is so-

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A. F. OF L. CONVENTION

MORE DISHONOR FOR SOCIALISM, THANKS TO "BORING FROM WITHIN."

Even the Pure and Simpler Ridicule Berger's Idea of Pensions—Militia Resolution Exposes Bogus Socialists Contradictions—What do the Western "Socialists" Think of La Follette's Aid Now?—Gompers and "The People."

(Special Correspondence.)

San Francisco, Cal., Nov. 22.—"Boring from within" continued to-day. Two more bogus Socialist resolutions were utterly defeated. Those two resolutions are worthy of the "noble" author, or inspirer—as the case may be—of the Wisconsin Platform. They are:

Resolution No. 104.—By Delegate Victor L. Berger, International Typographical Union:

"Whereas, labor creates all values or makes them useful and accessible to mankind, but the present economic system is such that it is impossible for the great mass of wage-workers to save up a sufficient amount of money or property to secure them against want and misery and the indignities of capitalistic charity in their old age; and

"Whereas, it is the prime object of the trade union movement to improve and elevate the standard of living of the working class everywhere and in every possible way; therefore be it

"Resolved, That the incoming Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to use its best efforts to induce the Congress of the United States to pass a bill which will secure to every wage worker in the United States who has earned no more than \$1,000 average wages per year, a pension of not less than \$12 per month at the age of sixty, and thereafter for the rest of his or her natural life; provided, however, that such wage worker is a citizen of the United States and has lived in this country for at least twenty-one years continually at the time when the application is made."

Resolution No. 105.—By Delegate Victor L. Berger of the International Typographical Union:

"Whereas, Experience has proven that the militia can be used by capitalists as an engine of destruction in the subjugation of the working people, workmen have thus been arrayed against workmen, and ordered to shoot down their comrades; therefore be it

"Resolved, By the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that we declare our intention and hereby instruct all affiliated bodies, to hold absolutely aloof from all connections with the militia, until the military system in vogue in Switzerland, or a similar system, is adopted in the United States."

Of course, the "borders" got it, and if they deserved what they got before, they more than merited what they got to-day. There might be some sense in asking that the workers be educated but when it comes to \$12 a month pension AFTER THE AGE OF 60, then even a pure and simpler can make them ridiculous and they did, utterly ridiculous. The pension was termed an insult to the working class and the poor bogus Socialists were dubbed "pliable reformers". Some of the speakers, we are positive, took their cue from The People.

On the militia proposition the patriotism of the noble audience was positively shocked. The militia is and always has been a bad case for the bogus Socialists, and one speaker contradicted another until they were all tangled up and made themselves the target for some biting sarcasm. They were, if possible, worse handled than yesterday, because to-day they had no ground to stand on whatever. How can these people make themselves so ridiculous?

But as if Socialism had not yet been made a target of scorn enough the worse is yet to come.

Towards the close of the afternoon session Victor Berger handed Gompers a note. Gompers said: "Mr. Berger makes the request for the unanimous consent of the convention to make a statement. If there is no objection it will be granted." "I positively object at this time," cried J. Mahlon Barnes.

J. Mahlon, we take it for granted, was not ready to eat humble pie in quite as big chunks as Victor. It was then moved and carried that he be given the floor. Gompers either knew or positively felt what was coming, and made no effort to conceal this glee. Gompers, it must be said, had acted splendidly on every occasion up to that, but at that moment he lost himself. He even invited "Brother Berger to come up on the platform, so all could hear him," when at other times he had not even taken pains to keep the house quiet

when Berger was struggling to speak with his cracked voice. Berger thanked him for the courtesy, but declined, because he had had "platform enough to do him for months".

This scene was then enacted: Berger said:

"I wish to speak in regard to the unfortunate affair of last evening. The squib brought up here emanated from the business office, I did not write it, had nothing to do with it, and did not know it was sent here until this copy was shown me. Of course, being one of the editors of the paper, I am responsible, but personally I have nothing to do with the squib, and I don't say I like the contents. I repeat again that I stand for the Social Democratic Herald in its general policy, because I am a Socialist personally, but I want to disclaim being responsible for this squib."

Vice-President John Mitchell—"In view of the assurance given by Mr. Berger that he is not personally responsible for the statement in the circular, and in view of the fact that he does not approve of the statement made there, I ask that my statement, wherein I said that unless Mr. Berger furnished proof of the allegations, he be branded as a liar, I ask that that part of my statement be stricken out of the minutes. I move that that part of my statements be stricken from the minutes."

The motion was seconded and carried. In yesterday's letter we said Berger acted a whipped dog, he kept up the role to-day and went to the length of licking the hand that whipped him.

It is all very fine to have a thing eradicated from the minutes after it stands there and moreover the press of the country has echoed the fact that the "Socialists" had been branded as liars before the A. F. of L. convention.

Our San Francisco comrades are now going round like living question marks. What agitates them is this: Was the friend of La Follette in the convention with the pre-rehearsed role of making a fool of Socialism? It matters little if we know it to be so or not, the fact is he did act the part as well as if he had been paid a thousand dollars for the trick. It matters, as said before, little if Mr. Berger is an outright fool or a knave. What is really of interest, in this convention, is if the "Socialists" throughout the land, and in particular of the West, where a rather radical breeze has been blowing, are going to put up with his tactics. If they do, they are not made of the stuff that we had hoped they were made of.

There was one thing I forgot to mention in yesterday's letter. It was when Brown's resolution about the non-union ads in "The Federationist" was up Mr. Samuel Gompers gave an absolutely unfounded dig at the Daily People and its representative. He said that such a thing coming up "would furnish material for THAT PRESS that was laying for something that it could use to prejudice the mind of the workers against the A. F. of L." And he added, "let me say that when I say press I do not mean what is generally known as the capitalist press," and here he gave The People's reporter a very bad look. Now Mr. Gompers ought to and does know better than to insinuate such a thing against The People, but if he does not let me tell him now, that The People has never had to take up the cue from the bogus Socialists; on the other hand that it is for ever the habit of the bogus Socialists to take up the cue from The People. Mr. Gompers knows that for years The People has called public attention to the inconsistency that exists between the advertising and the editorial departments in "The Federationist" and it is quite possible that this has made it so disagreeable for some bidders from within that to save themselves from public scorn they pushed this resolution through the N. Y. C. F. U. and brought it here. Please, Mr. Gompers, never make such a "mistake" again. The People never howls with the wolvies. It always leads in calling attention to inconsistency and thus makes the wolvies howl.

The convention adjourned Tuesday evening until Friday morning. Wednesday the delegates went on an excursion on San Francisco Bay. Some few delegates wanted a session on Thanksgiving Day, saying that the best way to spend the day would be in the cause of labor, but the majority would not.

San Francisco, Cal., Nov. 25.—To-day was a day of "Nobly waging". First it was the craft struggle, then it was the "class" struggle, and it wound up with the graft struggle. When the session closed last night the S. L. P. comrades present agreed unanimously that Comrade De Leon is absolutely correct in his phraseology when he terms it "the annual rowdy-dow". A rowdy-dow for fair!

(Continued on page 3.)

ITALIAN ELECTIONS

THE PRESENT MIXED-UP COMPLEXION OF THE CHAMBER.

The Suicidal Manoeuvres of the Giolitti Ministry to Down the Socialists and Preserve its Majority—Prospects of Wrangles that Will Inevitably Precipitate Giolitti from Power.

(From the Rome, Italy, correspondent of the Berlin "Vorwaerts.")

Rome, Nov. 18.—The elections are over. The great excitement is passed. The fierce governmental effort of the last week has succeeded in installing, in lieu of the old chamber, a new one that resembles the other like one egg does another. The new chamber has a numerically very large ministerial majority—337 ministerialists, besides thirty-nine representatives of the conservative opposition, three clericals and four conservative-clericals (two groups that are unable to tell the difference between themselves); finally, thirty-eight radicals, twenty-five Republicans and thirty-two Socialists. There are thirty other seats still undecided and to be passed upon by the chamber itself. Things, accordingly, remain pretty much as they were before. The conservative opposition has lost several seats; the Republicans, two; the Socialists, none. There is, accordingly, no real shifting of forces.

We Socialists are, of course, far from considering our campaign efforts as lost. For the party, the campaign was an exceptional opportunity for propaganda, it also offered the opportunity for the review of our army and its strength. The result is rich in instruction and encouragement. To us no campaign is lost, any more than any other agitation carried on with seriousness and zeal. Very differently, however, is the posture of the cabinet in face of the elections. The cabinet had no program to agitate for. Its only aim was to recruit a willing and pliant majority. A majority is now there; a majority as oppressive as that of the last months of the last legislative period. But there is a serious flaw in the present majority—it is wholly unreliable.

The unreliability of the present majority is not due to its being made up of different elements from the elements that usually go to make up ministerial majorities in countries that have no sharply marked bourgeois parties. The present majority is like all others—pliant only towards the end of the legislative periods, but overbearing and inclined to bolting and treason at the start. Giolitti stands before substantially the same chamber that faced him in October; but now he lacks the wonderfully effective whip that he then wielded, to wit, a decree dissolving the chamber. The young chamber knows that in case of a conflict between itself and the cabinet, it is the minister who must go, while it remains. Hence the deputies of the chamber are not now afraid of a conflict; while, at the same time, the possibility, however remote, of the overthrow of the cabinet, unchains the covetousness and ambition of all the aspirants after ministerial seats, around whom special interests are apt suddenly to rank themselves. In the demoralized condition of our political life, together with the resultant proneness for "bolts," all of which flow directly from the lack of cohesion among the bourgeois parties, all cabinets are unsafe before new than before old chambers.

Giolitti, moreover, centers in himself a special source of danger. This proceeds from the political dishonesty and mendacity of the campaign that he conducted. I not here allude to silent intimidations and underhand manoeuvres. These all belong to the technique of bourgeois elections, and will be readily pardoned him by those who profited thereby. But the pragmatic dishonesty by means of which the cabinet gathered its present majority out of bourgeois groups of all shades, is bound in the end to be fatal to him. By name, the Giolitti cabinet has hitherto been known as "liberal," distinguishing itself in some points quite sharply from the reactionary opposition. Despite all its doublings, the Giolitti cabinet followed a different program from Sonnino. Now this identical Giolitti has blurred in the campaign all the existing differences between conservatives and liberals. With the exception of the few officially known Sonninians, who could not, out of pure shame, make common cause with him,

Giolitti has allowed everything to pass for "ministerial" that was not Socialist, Republican or pronouncedly radical. The hedge-podge was eminently practical in the "struggle against revolution." The struggle is now over. How will Giolitti now get along with his pie-bald majority?

It is not to be supposed that the liberals, who supported the first liberal era of Zanardelli-Giolitti, can pull at one string with conservatives and clericals. As far as their general declarations are concerned, all of the latter are alike "liberal," "friendly to labor," and "progressive." In matter of "declarations" all they aim at is to fill their mouths well. But when it comes to practical acts, distinctions will have to be drawn. The right wing will ever stand for the use of the military against strikes, for the persecution of labor organizations, etc. The left wing, as a whole, cannot go to quite such lengths.

Innumerable questions, such as the surrender of Wessels to the Russian police in Italy, will be judged from different standpoints by the ministerial "bloc." It is not enough to christen clericals and dyed-in-the-wool conservatives as Giolittians, in order to convert them to a semi-liberal policy. If, on the contrary, Giolitti is converted by them, he will then lose the liberal wing which numbers 150 votes, and which was his original mainstay. In either eventuality he loses the majority.

In the hot water of such a situation the Government has placed itself out of "fear for the Socialists." It is the price with which the Government pays for its so-called triumph over our party. The apprehension of seeing our delegation rise to forty or perhaps fifty members in the chamber, was such that Giolitti threw himself into the arms of the clerical-liberal-conservative confusionism, in that way expecting safety from us. Even if the Government had actually defeated us, the price would have been too high. But Giolitti has allowed the victory to cost him his political future. Allied with the clericals he has been able to make front to the Socialists. But with the clericals he cannot work—nor without them.

Only in case the cabinet had taken up the battle with a liberal program that included the demands of the radicals, could Giolitti have avoided his present plight. He should have fought FOR his program, not merely AGAINST ours. Not the next weeks, but the next months, will show that the too-smart-by-half Giolitti will have to foot the costs of the electoral campaign, and leave to others the gathering of its fruits.

That our party will be able to step out of the parliamentary isolation into which the dissolution of the extreme left wing has thrown it, is not to be expected. True enough, the supplementary elections have brought us into alliances with Republicans and radicals—a measure allowed to the party by the resolutions of its national convention. But at the same time these supplemental elections have taught us the lesson that in all such cases the Socialists pay the piper. We have helped all the Republicans, who entered the supplemental elections, to their victory, and the Republicans re-venge themselves therefor by failing to redeem their promise of voting for those of our candidates who also entered the supplemental elections. Whether it was a case of treason, or of lack of discipline cannot be determined, but the result was the same to us. Out of thirty supplemental elections, we won in only four; the Republicans, however, in all the eight out of their eight supplemental elections.

The final Socialist returns are these: Our comrades captured twenty-five seats at the first election and four in the supplemental ones. Of these seats eighteen were previously held, eleven are in new districts. Besides these twenty-nine, three others, not within the party, were also elected—Turatti, De Felice, and a Sicilian named Auteri-Verretia, who only recently appeared in the colors of Socialism. All told, thirty-two Socialist seats, as before.

The party had indulged the hope of emerging from elections with a considerable increase of seats. We had not foreseen that the cabinet would come out of the election politically compromised, carrying in one hand the holy water sprinkler and in the other the free mason's triangle. Such a spectacle we did not expect to see—nor dared we hope for. The one result reconciles us with the other.

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CORREGAN WINS

JUDGMENT RENDERED IN HIS FAVOR IN SUIT AGAINST OFFICERS OF HIS UNION.

An Instance of the Crying Outrage That the Labor Fakirs Perpetrate On the Rank and File—It is Resisted by A Socialist—He Wins Out—Free Speech Upheld, Heresy Hunting Downed.

(Special Correspondence.)

Syracuse, N. Y., Dec. 1.—Charles H. Corregan, the recent Socialist Labor Party candidate for President, gets judgment against the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class in his own Union. This is the case that was tried before, judgment was rendered against Corregan and he appealed. His appeal was sustained and new trial ordered. The judgment just rendered is upon the second trial.

The case arose from an attempt on the part of the lieutenants of the capitalist class in Corregan's printers Union, Local 55 of this city, to muzzle Corregan, and failing in this to browbeat him as they do all who allow them. They barked up the wrong tree this time. Corregan was one evening speaking in this city in the open air, and in the course of his address he referred to the labor fakirs who are humbugging the workingmen. He illustrated his point by naming a fakir of his own Union, No. 55, who was in the audience. The fellow first tried to intimidate Corregan. The result of the attempt was that Corregan proceeded to make the case only stronger. The fakir thereupon gathered his fellows around him, and they drew up charges, themselves tried and themselves convicted Corregan and fined him without even the formality of notifying him of the proceedings. As he refused to submit to such Czarism, they expelled him and he was deprived of his job, upon which Mamie Hayes of Cleveland, who, it seems, has again voted for Gompers, announced in his paper: "Another De Leonite kicked out of the Union. Good!"

Upon losing his job, Corregan instituted proceedings for damages and for reinstatement. The decision grants him both. The rank and file of the Union are delighted.

Justice Rogers writes the following memorandum on his decision:

"The orderly administration of justice requires that the findings of fact at the first trial, so far as then made and based upon substantially the same evidence as now presented, be followed on this trial. This leaves only the question of damages. The plaintiff, at the time of his expulsion from Typographical Union No. 55 was employed by Lyman Brothers at his trade of printer at \$14 per week. While the employment was only from week to week and could be terminated at any time, and though it cannot be known certainly that the plaintiff, except for the expulsion, would have had continuous employment at that compensation there or elsewhere, I think it must, as against the defendant, be so assumed. The measure of damages should be compensation for time lost, at the rate mentioned, down to the time of this trial, less what actually has, or with reasonable diligence would have been, received from other employment. This is unquestionably the rule between employer and employee for personal injuries by assault or on account of negligence. There the recovery for time lost is the difference between what would have been earned, except for the injury, and what actually was earned with the impaired incapacity. The same measure I think, should be applied here. The action being in equity, the computation may be made down to the time of this trial. Findings may be prepared in accordance with these suggestions, and, if agreed to, submitted for signature; otherwise they will be settled on three days' notice."

On the first trial the complaint was dismissed by Justice William S. Andrews on September 11th, 1903, with \$102.43 costs against the plaintiff. An appeal was taken to the Appellate division, which reversed the judgment of the trial court and ordered a new trial. Presiding Justice Peter B. McClellan wrote the opinion. His court differed from the trial justice in the latter's second conclusion of law, "that the plaintiff was bound to exhaust his remedies with in the organization before appealing to this court for redress" and "that said remedies were reasonable and not burdensome."

THE IRREPRESSIBLE

CLASS CONFLICT IN COLORADO

The Struggle for the Eight-Hour Day—Its History, Significance and Failure, Culminating in the Capitalist Riots of 1904.

Written by H. J. BRIMBLE,
Florence, Colorado, 1904.

FIFTH EPISODE CONTINUED.

CIVIL AUTHORITIES SNUBBED AGAIN.

"The next morning it was reported that the military had decided to recognize the civil authorities to the extent of turning over to them three of the prisoners. The three to be proceeded against criminally and affidavits to be filed with the district attorney on which to prepare information and have capias issued. This announcement was made in court Tuesday morning by counsel for the military. It was not stated which of the prisoners were to be given to the sheriff, and none of the officers would give any information on the subject, but it was understood that Campbell, Lafferty and McKinney were the three and that Sherman Parker would be produced in court on the habeas corpus contest and the hearing proceeded with. Court did not convene until nearly 11 o'clock, and the delay was occasioned by complications of the military counsel on the move it proposed to make. When the hour for opening the court had passed and Chase had not appeared with his prisoners and escort, there were rumors that the military had decided to defy the court and decline to proceed further with the habeas corpus proceedings, but after court opened the examinations were made. After much argument by attorneys for military and prisoners, Judge Seeds ruled that unless three of the men were turned over to the sheriff at 2 o'clock, he would go forward with the hearing in all four cases. Counsel for the military said that they would have the affidavits ready for the district attorney not later than 12.30 or 1 o'clock, and that then it would be up to him to prepare the informations and secure capias for the accused.

"The court then adjourned at 2 o'clock. The streets were lined with people and the court room was crowded, but no officers and prisoners arrived. Later Judge Seeds received a message from Camp Goldfield to the effect that the officers could not get their evidence together until 10 o'clock Wednesday, 23rd, and again the court granted them time.

MILITARY DOMINATION AGAIN IN EVIDENCE.

"The gaudy glare of war and the apparent domination of the military powers were again in evidence upon the opening of the court Wednesday morning. Bennet Avenue was again invaded with cavalry and infantry. A gatling gun was stationed with its muzzle pointing to the Midland depot. A detail of sharpshooters who are recognized as the most expert marksmen, was placed on the roof of the National Hotel, four stories above the grade of Bennet Avenue. These men were perched upon the cupolas stationed at intervals upon the building and had their guns pointed toward the street for immediate use. The court-house was guarded by men who confronted intruders with bayonets and citizens who attempted to cross the lines were brought face to face with the power that the militia saw fit to exercise. As soon as the train rolled into the depot half the troopers dashed up the street with General Chase at their head and threw their line across the frontage of the Midland depot. The prisoners were escorted to the court room with two files of infantry on either side. The troopers followed. The court room was crowded with spectators and soldiers with bayonets glistening wickedly. The fact that the court should again tolerate a display which had so thoroughly angered the citizens stirred the wrath of General Engley. He informed the court that he would not proceed because of the intimidating forces in and about the court room. He characterized the court as an armed camp and stated that the constitution provides that the court shall be free and untrammelled and open to every one for the transaction of public business. He said:

CONSTITUTIONAL COURT SUPERCEDED BY ARMED CAMP.

"There has befallen my duty to make closing argument for the petitioners. When I filed the application for writs of habeas corpus and invoked the jurisdiction of this court for the issuance of the highest writ known to law, I supposed that these proceedings would be heard under constitutional guarantee; but it is not so. The court may say that it is, but the fact remains that the forces of intimidation are present. The constitutional guarantee that the court shall be open and untrammelled has been invaded."

"This is no longer a constitutional court. It is an armed camp. The court has been surrounded by soldiery."

"After long and sharp colloquy by all attorneys, Judge Seeds adjourned the court until Thursday morning and back to the bull-pen went the prisoners."

"Judge Seeds Thursday morning notified General Chase to be present in court with the prisoners before 2 o'clock in the afternoon, as promptly at that hour he would make a decision in the habeas corpus cases. Chase stated that whatever the decision of the court might be, he would certainly bring the prisoners back to Camp Goldfield unless otherwise ordered by the Governor of Colorado. At 1.30 the military appeared with the same pomp."

"That afternoon Judge Seeds rendered his decision, accompanying it with a long argument, from which two extracts are given. Following a discussion of the actual state of affairs in the Cripple Creek district, the Governor's proclamation, and the conditions under which martial law may be declared and the writ of habeas corpus suspended, in which he especially denies the authority assumed by the military, the judge goes on to say:

JUDGE CONDEMNS MILITARY INTRUSION.

"Were this court to admit that civil power is overthrown

in Teller county it would be in conflict with its unaffected consciousness to the contrary. Its courts are open; its decrees respected; its officials are capable, earnest and law-abiding persons, and no evidence has been brought to the court's attention that the violators of law will not be proceeded against with vigor and promptness. Though there were evidence of some neglect or indifference in the performance of duties by some of the officers of this court, that would be no proof that the civil authority within this country was overthrown. Were it so, civil power would be overthrown in too many States and counties of the country. The constitution of Colorado declares 'that the military shall always be in strict subordination to the civil power.' Not sometimes, but 'always.' There could be no plainer statement that the military should never be permitted to rise superior to the civil power within the limits of Colorado.

"I cannot close without reference to the military display committed with the hearing of this case. It was offensive to the court and in its opinion, unwarranted and unnecessary. Nevertheless, I tolerated it because it was by the National Guard, and had I insisted upon its withdrawal, a conflict would have arisen with the entire National Guard of the State on one side and a mere posse committatus upon the other. The hearing of the case would have been necessarily indefinitely delayed, a great wrong to the prisoner and a denial of the justice to which he was entitled. I trust that there will never again be such an unseemly and unnecessary intrusion of armed soldiers in the halls and about the entrance of an American court of justice. They are intrusions that can only tend to bring the courts into contempt and to make doubtful the possession of that liberty which is the keystone of American governments. It follows from what I have said that, in the opinion of the court, upon the facts stated in said petition, and the return of the respondents, the return ought to be quashed, and that the said Parker ought to be discharged from custody and it is so ordered.

PRISONERS ORDERED DISCHARGED—MILITIA IGNORES ORDERS.

"The cases of James Lafferty, C. H. McKinney and Charles Campbell, relators versus the same respondents, by stipulation, stand decided as the case of Parker, and the said James Lafferty, C. H. McKinney and Charles Campbell are ordered to be discharged from custody as in their respective petitions prayed.

"W. P. Seeds, Judge."

"Judge Seeds' order was read to a crowded court room. Immediately after the decision was finished Chase arose and notified the court that he would not abide by the order of the court and, facing his soldiers, he commanded them to take the prisoners.

"Mrs. Sherman Parker, who sat by her husband during the reading of the decision, screamed, and, grasping her husband, fainted. The soldiers grabbed Parker and pulled him away from his wife, and created one of the most heart-rending scenes ever witnessed in a Teller County court room. Mrs. Parker was in a dead faint for about twenty minutes, and her husband begged to be permitted to remain by his wife, whom he declared to be dying, but was refused by Chase, who also, it is claimed, refused medical assistance, laughingly claiming that she was all right and would soon recover. Senator Patterson was near and admonished the soldiers to leave the husband with his wife until she could recover, which a lieutenant in charge of the prisoner finally agreed to do. The court was then cleared and Mrs. Parker recovered and her husband was taken back to the bull-pen.

SUDDEN RELEASE—THE STATE'S RESPONSIBILITY.

"Later in the evening the military authorities released the prisoners. No explanation was given. The men went straight to their homes and did not tarry even at union headquarters. The news came as a surprise to everybody, since just a few hours before the officers had defied the order of the court and refused to release them. The supposition is that this was done in compliance with a telegram from Governor Peabody instructing Chase to comply with the order of the court."

It may be urged, in defense of the State administration, that they were ignorant of what was passing in Cripple Creek, and, therefore, cannot be held responsible for the actions of Chase and his men. As a matter of fact, Chase was at all times in direct communication with the occupants of the State house, and they, had his actions been distasteful, could have checked him at any moment. For what was done in Cripple Creek, as related in the preceding pages, the State administration and the men behind it must be held responsible. Chase and his men were only puppets.

A COMPARISON THAT IS OBVIOUS—TO PEABODY.

To bring out the actions of the Governor in invading the courts with his armed men in the strongest light, a comparison between the present administration and that of D. H. Waite may be of use. Waite, while in the last analysis an upholder of the system under which we live, inclined to the side of the workers, and upon him and his administration the men who uphold and profit by capitalism, through as contemptible an array of intellectual prostitutes as was ever enlisted in the cause of reaction, have well-nigh exhausted their vocabulary of abuse and misrepresentation, reserving, of course, their choicest epithets and bitterest hatred for the greater-than-Waite who is yet to come, and who will head the movement that is to sweep the system that breeds Peabodyism and all kinds of injustice out of existence.

(The attitude of those in authority to-day toward the courts that dare stand for the right has been well established during the past year. Permit me to quote from a letter sent to the writer by a member of Waite's administration: a man who was a leading part in the drama of those days.

"Cripple Creek, Colo.

"June 20th, 1904.

"H. J. Brimble, Esq.

"Florence, Colo.

"Dear Sir:—Referring to yours of recent date will say that sometime during the night preceding the day when General Tarsney appeared in Judge Campbell's court, I received instructions by special messenger from Governor Waite to proceed to Colorado Springs and defend Tarsney on the charge of contempt of court in not obeying a subpoena of the grand jury. On my arrival at the depot in Denver I found General Brooks

and some other officers of the militia with Tarsney. In answer to my enquiry General Brooks stated that he had been ordered by Governor Waite to proceed to Colorado Springs with the other military officers for the protection of Tarsney. I immediately informed General Brooks that it would be improper for them to appear in the court room in uniform. My recollection is that he made no answer at the time. Upon arriving at Colorado Springs Tarsney, the militia officers, and I went to the court house.

"The militia officers accompanied me to Judge Campbell's room and I then and there informed the judge as to the nature of my business and that I was not responsible for the presence of the militia, and that I distinctly repudiated any connection with their mission, insofar as their appearance in the court house was concerned. Judge Campbell thereupon stated that the militia must not appear in his court room armed or even in uniform. When the case was called for hearing the militia officers appeared in the court room in citizens clothes and unarmed."

Mr. Engley concludes his letter with matters that have no bearing upon the point under discussion and which are omitted here.

FICTION WITHERS BEFORE FACT.

That the force of the foregoing, and its bearing upon the conditions of to-day may be brought out to the best advantage, I may say that the Tarsney referred to was Adjutant-General under Waite and had been sent to the Cripple Creek district in command of the State troops in the "War of '94," that peace might be preserved, a mission in which he was eminently successful. Of course, in so doing he earned the enmity of the "best people," and was rewarded by the good citizens of Colorado Springs, that stronghold of the ore-wagon and stock-swindling aristocracy, with a coat of tar and feathers. What the mine-owners wanted in '94 may be imagined from what they have done this year. The Campbell spoken of is the man of that name who is at present an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court. At the time spoken of in Mr. Engley's letter he was District Judge in El Paso County. You will have noticed his righteous anger at the bare thought of militiamen appearing in his court room. That was when they were detailed to protect a man who had stood between the Bull Hill miners and the thousand or more thugs in the employ of the sheriff of El Paso County, which, at that time, embraced the Cripple Creek district, who, under the direction of County Commissioner Boynton, a Republican politician, would have anticipated the actions of General Bell and the State militia of to-day, had they been allowed to do so. This is the man whose silence gave consent to the outrageous insults offered to the Supreme Court by John M. Waldron, Governor Peabody and the rest of them, when they flatly intimated that they would obey the orders of the Supreme Court if they saw fit, and not otherwise. Why did not Judge Campbell drive Sherman Bell from the court room when he appeared before the Supreme Court in uniform? The answer is simple: In the Tarsney case the officers were there to protect a man from the machinations of the mine-owners, while in the Moyer case the officers were in court in the interest of mine-owners. Hence the difference in the treatment accorded to the protectors of Tarsney and the captors of Moyer. The fiction of the Supreme Court's impartiality withers away before the evidence here presented.

"THE COURTS MUST BE RESPECTED."

If the comparison established does not satisfy the reader that there is one interpretation for the workers and another, quite different, for the exploiters, then I cannot hope to convince him by any argument that I may produce. The cry that "The courts must be respected" is a favorite with the defenders of capitalism. Yes; when they go the "right way." When the contrary is the case, the "intelligent people of the State," in the language of John M. Waldron, do not respect them, their economic position enabling them to set the courts at defiance.

I will close this part of the chapter with an invitation to the reader to compare the action of Eugene Engley, a man looked upon by the "best people" as a dangerous individual, with that of the present attorney-general, who, being "safe" and "sane" stands for every abuse committed by the Peabody administration, not the least of which is the trampling under foot of the constitutional guarantee of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and the destruction of the machinery of justice, when it could not be forced to do the bidding of the agent of capitalism who now occupies the gubernatorial chair. Who respects the courts: Engley or Miller?

UNION OUTWITS MILITARY.

A striking incident in connection with the military occupation of Teller County is given by Mrs. E. F. Langdon, the lady from whose book I have quoted so freely, and to whom I am indebted for many facts. On Sunday afternoon, September 20th, while hundreds of the citizens of Victor, with their wives and children, were out walking and driving, a dozen or more non-union men were escorted into a restaurant by a couple of troops of cavalry under the command of General Chase. Naturally the people crowded forward to see what was going on, when, without the slightest warning, the troopers charged the masses of men, women and children, and drove them to the sidewalks. Not satisfied with this, the soldiers galloped down the sidewalks, the people running for their lives into saloons, billiard halls, hallways, anywhere, in fact, to avoid being trampled under foot by the horses, spurred into madness by the preservers of law and order. An old man, being unable to move quickly enough to suit Chase's warriors, was pricked repeatedly in the back with the point of a sword.

From this time forward military arrests became so common that it is impossible to keep track of them. Among the many brilliant exploits of the military was an attempt on the part of the military to capture every man who attended the meeting of the Altman union. The miners, however, got word of the proposed raid, and when the time came, the 200 troopers charged into an empty hall.

On September 26th, General Bell, who had been sent at the head of the troops to enforce the law, announced that he would pay no more attention to the civil authorities unless ordered to do so by the Governor.

SUPPRESSION OF THE "VICTOR DAILY RECORD."

As I have already remarked, the "Victor Daily Record" was

the official organ of the Federation in the district. This fact did not cause it to be beloved by the Mine-Owners' Association and its tools, and, as a consequence, the office of the paper was surrounded by soldiers on the night of September 29th, at 11.05, when the entire force was being rushed to get out the paper. With little ado the men in the place were lined up and marched to the bull-pen, not a word being said as to the reason for the arrests. Mrs. Kyner, wife of the magazine editor, communicated the news of the raid to Mrs. Langdon, and that lady, with Messrs. Miller and Conrad, the pressmen, hurried to the office and made preparations for getting out the paper at the usual hour. When the soldiers discovered that a substitute force were about to make their efforts at suppressing the "Record" of no avail, they endeavored to gain admittance to the office in the "name of the Governor of Colorado." Fortunately Mrs. Langdon and her associates had barricaded the place, and the soldiers dared not break their way in.

Mrs. Langdon made preparations to get out the next issue, but about 12 o'clock the regular force was released and again took charge. The experience of the arrested men, as related by Mrs. Langdon, is worthy of note:

"The prisoners were marched unceremoniously to the bull-pen. Armed thugs forced them into a filthy and squalid little tent, absolutely barren of furniture or bedding, where they were told to stay under penalty of having their heads blown off if they appeared an inch outside the entrance.

THE "BULL-PEN" FROM THE INSIDE.

"The 'bull' tent had just been vacated by a number of drunken soldiers, who had vomited all over the interior. The stench was sickening, but there they were forced to lie, without even as much as a gunny sack to protect them from the cold. Shortly after sunrise they were told to 'come to breakfast.' Emerging from the filthy kennel they were escorted to a mess table a short distance away. A dozen guards kept them covered with guns loaded with riot ammunition while two grimy negro cooks dished out a little soup on tin plates and told them to eat. There were no knives, forks or spoons at hand. 'Use your fingers,' said the head negro, when remonstrances were made.

"Beneath the table were a number of washboilers and buckets filled with the accumulated garbage of several days, and the stench arising therefrom was nauseating enough to insult the gizzard of a buzzard. It is quite needless to say that they had no appetite.

"They returned to the tent hungrier and more distressed than ever. The day was raw and cold and they were chilled to the marrow. Faint and sick Mr. Richmond approached the captain of the guard and implored him for God's sake to obtain some blankets. [This appeal was cut shot by an oath from that dignity.

INTIMIDATION BY GATLING GUN.

"A little later a murderous looking gatling gun was drawn up, trained on the prisoner's tent, and they were subjected to the nerve-rending ordeal of posing as targets. The excitement attending this outrageous intimidation completely unnerved some of them.

"Attorney Tully Scott succeeded in getting them liberated through some legal procedure and after unwinding a few miles of military red tape the commanding general turned them over to Sheriff Robertson, of Teller County, when, for the first time, they learned that they were defendants in a libel case.

"The excuse for taking the 'Record' force was that in the issue of the day before there was an article of about six lines which referred to two tools of the mine-owners as ex-convicts. It was learned that in the case of Vannich it was true, but Scanlon, with all his faults, has not, as yet, worn the stripes. However, there was a correction coming out the following morning. The truth of the matter was that the military was watching every move of the 'Record' for a chance to raid the office. The real reason for the military raiding the office at that hour was to suppress the official organ of the Western Federation of Miners. The reader will at once realize that had the editor been guilty of criminal libel the operators or the mechanical force could not legally be held responsible."

(To Be Continued Next Week.)

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Masaniello



[From Cyclopaedia Britannica.]

(Modern history is best understood by knowing ancient history. Masaniello is not exactly ancient, yet useful reading just now.)

Masaniello (an abbreviation of Tommaso Aniello or Anello) was the leader of the Neapolitan revolt in July, 1647. For many years the Spanish Government, in straits for money, had exacted large sums from the two Sicilies, although the privileges granted by Ferdinand and Charles V had exempted them both from taxes on the necessities of life and from all external payments whatever. Now, however, under Philip III and Philip IV, the exactions, heavy in themselves, were made more oppressive by being farmed out to contractors, while the sums raised were usually conveyed to Spain and spent on purposes often having no connection with Naples. Meantime the industrial classes were scourged by the excesses of the nobility and the lawlessness of the banditti. At length, at the end of 1646, the duke of Arcos demanded a million ducats in gold; and it was resolved after much opposition to raise it from fruit, one of the most necessary articles of food to a Southern people. Petitions delayed but did not remove the tax; on June 6 a toll house was actually blown up, but the viceroy did not give way. The discontent was fomented by Genovino, who had been chosen "elect of the people" (that is, of the district of the city where the common people had the right of voting) in 1619 by the duke of Osuna's influence, and had been employed by him as an agitator. After the duke's recall he had been long in prison, and then returned to Naples and became a priest. He selected for his purpose Masaniello, a fisherman of Naples, then twenty-seven years old, well built, intelligent, and very popular in the city. He was so poor, we are told, that he was usually obliged to content himself with selling paper to wrap up the fish that others sold. He had special cause, too, for hatred to the taxes; his wife had tried to smuggle a bag of flour into the city as an infant; she had been imprisoned, and his scanty possessions had barely sufficed to pay her fine. The temporary success of a rising at Palermo had stirred the people to a sense of their power, and very little was wanting to

produce an explosion. On July 16, the feast of S. Maria del Carmine, it was customary to make a sort of castle which was defended by one body of youths armed with sticks and stormed by another. Masaniello had been chosen captain of one of these parties, and got together four hundred young men, with whom he had already raised the cry of "Down with the taxes!" when the crisis was precipitated by a quarrel. On Sunday, the 7th, a dispute arose in the market (on which Masaniello's house looked) whether the gardeners or the buyers of their fruit should pay the tax. Finally the owner of the fruit (said to have been a kinsman of Masaniello) upset his basket, saying he would sooner let the people have it for nothing than pay the tax. Masaniello came up: the tax collectors were pelted with fruit and then with stones, and the toll house was burned with cries of "The king of Spain and plenty; down with misgovernment and taxes." The viceroy attempted, without effect, to quiet the people by promises; his carriage was surrounded, and he escaped with difficulty to St. Elmo. Meanwhile the populace broke open the prisons, and released all charged with offences against the custom. In the evening by advice of Genovino, a meeting elected officers, and decided on their demands. Masaniello was chosen captain, with one Perrone, who had been in the service of Maddaloni, and at another time a captain of bandits, as his lieutenant. Next day the people went in search of arms; many houses of persons who had made themselves obnoxious to the people, and especially of tax-farmers, were sacked, and their contents burned; but most of the historians of the time state that there were few attempts to appropriate anything and those few were immediately punished. The duke of Maddaloni, a man of lawless life, but a decided opponent of the viceroy, was selected as a likely intermediary with the people. The latter demanded the original charter granted by Charles V., which was said to have wrongfully come into the viceroy's own hands, the removal of all taxes imposed since Charles V.'s death, and that the elect of the people should have as many votes as the representatives of the nobles. All was granted, but the viceroy made entrenchments to guard the approaches to the castle. Next day the sacking of the tax-farmers' houses went on. The

viceroy attempted to cheat the people by sending documents simply drawn up by himself; and then their rage burst out. Maddaloni was seized and given into custody, but escaped in the night by Perrone's connivance. The people were summoned to arms. The cardinal archbishop, Flommarino, who did his best to mediate between the parties all through, came to them from the viceroy, and it was arranged that he should bring them the document. The seizure of arms went on, and Masaniello, marching out of the city, disarmed and took prisoners four hundred soldiers, while another body of people did the same with six hundred German mercenaries. On Wednesday Perrone made his appearance at the head of three hundred bandits, partly mounted, and fired upon Masaniello, but without injuring him. The people rushed upon them, and they were killed almost without exception. Some confessed to having been instigated by Maddaloni, and a price was set upon his head. His brother, Giuseppe Caraffa, was found in a monastery and killed, and his head and feet were set up on pikes. A new elect of the people was chosen, Arpaia, who had been a partisan of Genovino's in the Duke of Osuna's time, and had been condemned to the galleys. On Thursday Maddaloni's house was plundered and his property placed in a heap in the market under guard. The castle being short of provisions, Masaniello sent some as a present to the viceroy. The Neapolitan galleys, under Gianettino Doris, arrived the same day, and Masaniello refused permission to land or come nearer than a mile to the shore, but sent provisions on board. In fact, he was now undisputed master of the city, not only organizing the military force in it with surprising ability, but dispensing strict though severe justice. Often he sat inside his little house on the market, sword or loaded gun in hand, while petitions and complaints were handed to him on the end of a pike through the window; yet he still went barefoot, dressed as a simple fisherman. The people, having assembled, consulted together on the terms of agreement, it was settled on the advice of Genovino that Masaniello should show the articles agreed on to the duke at the palace (he would not risk himself in the castle), and that the viceroy should afterwards swear to them in the cathedral. Towards evening the procession set out,

Masaniello in a dress of cloth of silver pressed upon him by the archbishop. An immense concourse of armed men, estimated at one hundred and forty thousand, lined the way or accompanied him. Before them went a trumpet proclaiming "Viva il re di Spagna ed il fedelissimo popolo di Napoli." Before entering the palace he exhibited the charter brought by the archbishop, and charged them not to lay down their arms till they had received the confirmation of their rights from the king of Spain. "If I do not return in an hour," he added, "wreck the city." He was received by the viceroy as an equal. All the conditions were agreed to, the chief being—that the elect of the people should have as many votes as the nobles; that all taxes should be removed except those already existing in Charles V.'s time; that the viceroy should get the articles ratified by the king within three months; that no punishment should be inflicted on those who had taken part in the rising; and that the people should keep their arms till the ratification. On Friday Masaniello dismissed most of his followers to their work, keeping a patrol of four men and a corporal in each street. Next day the ceremony in the cathedral took place; the duke of Canjano read the articles, Masaniello meanwhile correcting and explaining, and the viceroy solemnly swore to observe them. Then Masaniello tore off his rich dress; it was time, he said, to return to his fish. And indeed from this time began his ruin. For a week the care of a city, with hundreds of thousands of inhabitants, had rested upon him; he had been general, judge, legislator, and during the whole time he had hardly slept or eaten, the latter through dread of poison; no wonder if the fisherman's brain reeled under all this. His justice had been severe, but hitherto it had struck men who deserved punishment, the oppressor, the robber, the hired cut-throat; henceforth every one who ventured to contradict him risked his life, and the only man who could persuade him to mercy was the good archbishop. Five hundred in all, it is said, were put to death by his order; though it is probable that they were few compared to the lives taken a short time afterwards by the viceroy in defiance of his pledged word. Next day, in fact, the duke set to work; Genovino was made president of the chamber in

order to detach him from Masaniello, for which he was the more ready as Masaniello was no longer the tool he wanted. Genovino had already prevented the demand for the surrender of St. Elmo, which could easily have been enforced, as the fort was not provisioned. Carlo and Salvatore Cataneo, with two others, offered to the viceroy to murder Masaniello, and he welcomed their services. On Sunday Masaniello gave orders for laying down arms and submitting to the viceroy, which were obeyed in some quarters of the city before they could be recalled. He tried in vain to get the viceroy to accompany him to Posillipo, where he drank deeply, and in reckless extravagance threw gold into the water to be dived for. Next day his violence continued; he struck his followers in the street, and condemned several of his officers to death for not immediately executing his orders. He cut out the head from a picture of Maddaloni and set it on a pike. Vitale, his secretary, sent on a message to the viceroy, talked of his intention to raise a million ducats for the king by means of forced gifts from the rich; Vitale was detained in the castle on some pretext, and on leaving next morning was killed by the people of the quarter, who had returned to their allegiance. On Tuesday, the 16th, the feast of S. Maria del Carmine, Masaniello went up into the pulpit, and in a wild harangue recapitulated his services. He knew, he said, his death was near at hand; then tearing open his dress he showed his body emaciated by fatigue and want of food. After some more wild talk he was disarmed and confined in a cell in the monastery. There the quiet seems to have restored him; but his assassins soon broke in; he turned to meet them; five shots were at once fired, and he fell dead. His head was cut off and carried through the streets, while his body was dragged about for a while and then buried outside the city. Next day some boys went and dug up the body, washed it, and took the head from the guard in charge of it. The Neapolitans forgot the excesses of the last few days, and only remembered the leader who had won them their great victory. People plucked out his hair and preserved them as relics, some even prayed to him as a saint. All the priests of the city officiated at the funeral, and even the viceroy was represented by eight of his pages.

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Detroit's Dope Industry

Located at Detroit, Mich., are two establishments engaged in the manufacture of drugs and patent medicines. They control practically the whole trade of America, and have branches in Canada, Great Britain, and Australia. A member of the Socialist Labor Party, on applying for a job at one of them recently, was put to work in the "grease room." In this department is put up salves, tooth-paste, ointments, cold cream, etc. The pay to start with was 12 1/2 cents per hour; at the end of two weeks this was increased to 15 cents per hour, and further increase as the applicant "deserved" it. To illustrate what the capitalist knows about production, the following actual incident will answer. On one occasion cold cream was being put up. The head of the firm, after looking at it and smelling of it, asked one of the workers if it was carbolic salve! The average man would have known that much. Cough "cures" of every kind are unloaded on a gullible public. The chief ingredient of such is alcohol. In the biological department, where the sciences which deal with the phenomena manifested by living matter are dealt with, a large force of doctors,

chemists and assistants are at work. Here the vaccine points are made. The printing department is up-to-date, and does all the firm's work in that line. A tragic affair for pure and simple unionism occurred here. The printers asked for "union" wages, and through some misunderstanding when the schedule was agreed upon and lived up to, the "union" rates were lower than previously. The "union" threatened to strike, but the firm was obdurate, and held them down to the schedule. Another interesting department is the finishing or labeling room. Here all goods are sent to be labeled, which work is done entirely by girls, on the piece-work system. The more expert ones make from one dollar a day up, when steadily employed. There is also the stock room, the perfume room, order department, machine shop, and mill room, where powders of all kinds are mixed. The firm also keeps a large stable of horses, not for work, as one might suppose, but to furnish blood for a preparation called anti-toxin. The veins are opened and blood extracted. After the horses are bled all they will stand for, they are fed up and sold for \$50 or upwards. Anti-toxin is sold as a cure for diphtheria.

The treatment of the horses resembles somewhat the use to which the wage-worker is put, with the exception that the horses are always taken care of, while the worker is thrown on the street to starve, when he can not be exploited any longer. To see the enormous quantity of patent medicines, cure-alls, and other health-destroying concoctions, displayed for sale in any drug store, one would think that the American people were easily imposed on, and suffering from all the ills that flesh is heir to. Great Britain, Canada and Australia also take a goodly share of the trash turned out by such firms. This will show what deception is practiced to sell goods. Suppose a druggist wants a pile remedy, face powder, or cough cure. The order is put up and labeled in Detroit, something like this: "Pure horehound and honey cough cure, put up only by John Jones, druggist, Sydney, Australia." The chances are it contains no honey, nor horehound. The people who patronize John Jones buy it, because they believe it must be good, if he puts it up. A California Fig Syrup company sued one of the Eastern firms not long ago for infringement of trade mark. It came out in the evidence that not a

particle of figs was used by the former firm, in their "cure." The firm referred to in this article has a refined way of engaging help. A notice is tacked upon the building: "Help Wanted." A rush of applicants is the result. They are ushered before the manager, one at a time, questioned as to their ability, etc., and are required to fill out blanks, stating age, residence, name, and what pay they are willing to accept. The lowest priced ones naturally get the job. Many children of tender age are employed at \$1.50 per week, in spite of the age limit law of 14 years. Numerous cases are known of the father, mother, and children of one family at work to make both ends meet. A short time ago the following notice was issued to all employees: "There is an old saying that 'two heads are better than one,' and it is reasonable to suppose that several hundred heads are better than two, so we make the following offer—Any one having a suggestion to make as to improved methods in getting out work, or a saving in expenses, is invited to write it out and hand it in to the office. We will pay \$1 for each suggestion used by us, but no employee should feel aggrieved if his idea is not made use of."

This article would not be complete without a description of the residence of one of the firm. An imposing looking mansion, it stands on one of the swell residence streets. The walls and ceiling of the parlor and lounging rooms are gorgeously decorated, while the furniture, statuary and bric-a-brac must have cost a small fortune. A spacious billiard room is located in the basement. Every bedroom has a separate bath room and toilet in connection. Six telephones are installed in the house. Pianos and several other musical instruments grace the reception room. The carpets, curtains and hangings are elaborate. Paintings by the best masters adorn the walls. What a contrast to the "homes" of the workers! When one realizes that all these comforts and luxuries are made possible by the manufacture of impositions and the exploitation of the only useful class in society, one is tempted to ask, When will the workers get "wise"? How long will they uphold a system which drives their children into the factory, their wives and sisters in many cases to prostitution, and themselves to all parts of the earth, looking for a master? Onward to the Socialist Republic, when imposition will be unnecessary and every worker will get the full product of his toil. S. L. P.

local unions are simply wiped off from all connections. If we had hoped up to that time that there was some one in the Federation that was not a scab all our hopes were at last shattered, so sweeping were the proclamations hurled out that night.

San Francisco, Cal., Nov. 26.—The entire forenoon and part of the afternoon so-day was taken up with the craft struggle between the sailors and longshoremen. The longshoremen have the rest of the day was taken up with the election of officers and the selection of next year's meeting place. Pittsburgh, Pa., gets the show next. Every one of the old officers was re-elected. Berger stuck to the fools' part to the last. Gompers was nominated and elected unanimously with a whoop and hurrah; but Victor would not have it; he stood up to register his vote against Gompers, but the delegates would not have that, so they hooted him, and

cheered Gompers all the more. Eri tongues will have it that the other "Socialists" shared nobly in the jeering of the one and cheering of the other; but that may be a mistake, of course—probably they were called to the telephone just then. Anyhow we suggest it, for the comfort of the local "Socialists," who are having all kinds of trouble with an inquisitive public that insists in finding out the why and wherefore of some of the "Socialist" inconsistencies at the convention.

Late in the evening the convention adjourned. The delegates came here by special train from the East and will leave in the same manner Monday morning at nine.

So they have met and quarrelled and banqueted and had a general, glorious, good time.

Will organized labor throughout the land watch its condition and see what good it gets out of this convention? Olive M. Johnson.

A. F. OF L CONVENTION

(Continued from page 1.)

What concerns us most was the "noble waging of the class struggle,"—otherwise known as "boring from within." This time it was J. Mahlen Barnes' resolution, No. 116, that went to join the Berger and Brown procession. It called for the abolition of lobby committee. Barnes spoke first. Like all his co-borers he was trying to perform the acrobatic feat of riding pure and simple and revolutionary Socialism at the same time; but of course, the two steeds would not pull together, and the champion fell and scratched his nose. Gompers at once took him in hand. His speech is a nice piece of sophistry and will make good reading, just to show what kind of arguments these people use. However, he made two splendid points against the borer. He said: "To show the consistency of our

friends. They say they have concentrated what they hoped to present to the convention in the proposition now under discussion, that is, the abolition of the legislative committee. They are asking us to abolish the legislative committee, and yet during this same convention they have asked us to use our best efforts to get from Congress a law for pensioning workers." This borer's consistency had been the laughing stock of the Socialist Labor Party ever since the resolutions were printed. It is a wonder how stupid those people are. I never have believed them capable of so much stupidity before. Again when Barnes objected to Gompers' using the words "slurring tirade" he having been the only speaker, Gompers replied: "My dear Barnes! Do you believe we have given good-bye to our memories? Do you think for moment we are unconscious of the fact that others—those who are associated with you and whom

you designate as Socialists—conform themselves very differently in this convention to the way they do out of it? Do you think we are entirely unconscious of these things?" It is a fact that the very same night that Berger had "kissed the hem of the mantle" of Gompers and Mitchell, the bogus Socialists, at a meeting on Grant avenue, where Gompers was present, called him all the names in the calendar, and had a majority to howl him down. Oh, how we must admire the courage of these "noble wagers of the class struggle!" When Gompers finished the convention adjourned until 8 p. m. that same day. During supper hours each party to the contest laid their plans. The pure and simple had been bored enough and were determined to stand it no more. When the convention reconvened the bogus Socialists sent as vanguard one Brown, president of the Shingle Weavers' Union, from some place in Washington, a member of the

party, innocent and sincere, but very much utopian in his ideas. A dozen contemptible fakirs in various parts of the hall at once started the game. One rose for a point of order, another for a question, a third for a point of information, etc., and so on. The Coffee Agent ruled every point of order out of order and said every time that Brown should proceed undisturbed, but for every interruption he had a very benevolent smile. Finally the whole house would start to applaud every few words he said, and the like tricks were resorted to. Brown tried to give tact to the Federation, nothing helped. He sat down without losing his temper and took a good natured part in the proceedings afterwards, so we fear he will return home not much wiser for his experience. One Ramsey, of the Telegraphers, who at previous occasions has declared himself with the "Socialists", this time wheeled clear over to the other side. The bogus Socialists were so

badly beaten that though Barnes declared at the start that they had concentrated their efforts upon that proposition, no one else attempted to take a hand in its defense. Hundreds of persons have during the week expressed their utter astonishment at these "Socialists" attempting to invade a place like that without showing the least iota of concerted action, but each riding his own hobby as it were. To one and all we will say that that question is well answered in advance by the author of "The Burning Question of Trades Unionism" when he says: "Error is manifold; it scatters." The last struggle of the day was the graft struggle. It hinged on several questions, regulating the relation between central bodies and national and international unions. The international unions won out every trip, as, of course, they would with the international presidents in the great majority in the convention, and from now on

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stamps should be sent for return.

SOCI-ALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES:

In 1888.....2,088
In 1892.....21,157
In 1896.....36,564
In 1900.....34,191
In 1902.....53,793

The economic subjection of the man of
labor to the monopolizer of the means of
labor—that is, the sources of life—lies at
the bottom of servitude in all its forms
of social misery, mental degradation, and
political dependence.—Marx.

UNEASY LIES THE HEAD OF THE EVIL-DOER.

It is now barely ten years ago that
The People took the Sacramento, Cal.,
"Bee" over its knees, and dusted the
Pacific slope luminary for its ten utter-
ances on Socialism. The "Bee" had
haughtily threatened to shoot down the
Socialists, should the "brigands" ever
become numerous enough to be taken
notice of. The "Bee," in its exultant
impudence even became picturesque
in its threats. It talked of "the rat-
plam plan-plam" that the musketry
of the capitalist class would administer
to the "brigands," the Socialists. That
was ten years ago.

And now? Not a word of "rataplum
plan-plam." The "Bee" recognizes the
rapid strides Socialism is making. It no
longer calls the thing "brigandage." It
has lowered its tone. Now the thing
is called a "fad," a "fad" that, as soon
as victorious, "would go to pieces in-
side of twelve months." Yet amidst
all its confidence in the impracticability
of Socialism, the "Bee's" mind is
disturbed. It correctly refers to the
Socialist propagandists as "infatigable";
it admits that "Socialism" has become
a great force in the nation. It
gives another toss on its uncomfortable
bed and quotes "many deep think-
ers of the times" as believing that
"inside of twenty years at the very
furthest" the political issue in the
country will be fought out between
two parties "one the Socialistic, the
other anti-Socialistic." And, arrived at
this point, the "Bee" gives a final and
so violent a toss on its thorny bed at
the thought that the two former old
parties, long used to keep the workers
divided, are now divided by "really
nothing but a name," that the poor
"Bee" rolls out of bed.

Can the discomfited, now "un-rata-
planned plan-plam-plam" "Bee" be
blamed if it seeks comfort and imagines
it has found comfort pillowing
its aching head upon the belief that
"no two Socialists will agree as to
what Socialism really is?" Hardly! The
"Bee" deserves sympathy, all the more
seeing that even that imaginary pillow,
does not seem to afford it rest. Its
dreams are troubled. In its sleep it
mumbles the ominous reflection: "And
yet they are persistent and ceaseless in
preaching as though they were fighting
for ONE UNITED IDEAL!"

Aye, indeed! There is no balm in
Gilead for the distressed apostle of
capitalism. One central idea unites
all Socialists. With the Socialist, as
with his predecessor the Abolitionist,
as the latter was described by Jane
Grey Swinburn, there may be different
views on tactics; even within the So-
cialist Labor Party, at times violent
discussions may convulse the organ-
ization, just as happened with the
Abolitionists; and just as in the in-
stance of the Bourbon slave-holders
and their Northern Copper-head sym-
pathizers, the descendants of these,
the modern Capitalist Class, expect
their salvation from such divisions
which the wish being father to the
thought, they magnify into irreconcil-
able feuds, and cause them to leap and
cling to the broken reed that "no two
Socialists are agreed." But, again just
as in the instance of the Abolitionists,
the broken reed will plunge the usurper
into the despair of crushing disap-
pointment. As the Abolitionists were
held united by one central idea, the
abolition of CHATEL SLAVERY, so
the Socialist, wherever found, is in-
dissolubly bound to all Socialists,
wherever found, by the central idea of
the abolition of WAGE SLAVERY. That
bond holds them now, that bond
will draw them together at the hus-
tings of the approaching "Nov. 6, 1896"
That bond holds them now; that bond
of this century and generation; and
that bond will marshal them, together
with their increasing hosts, at the ap-
proaching "Appomattox" of this cen-
tury and generation.

AVE, ELIOT, LIBERATOR!

"Private and Public Liberty!"
"Freedom of Contract!"

These were the blood-tingling exor-
tations that punctuated President Eliot's
recent speech before the Economic Club
of Boston. Of course, he was applauded
to the echo by the enraptured employers
present. Whose heart would not respond
to the call of Freedom, all the more sec-
ing the steady approach of Socialism, or
what Spencer termed "The Approaching
Slavery"? And shall a gathering of rot-
tund and spongy employers, panting
after more rotundity and more spongi-
ness, be thought to be possessed of less
responsive hearts, perchance no heart
whatever?

"Freedom of contract" is a term of
equity. It is weighty with meaning, sense
and justice. According thereto a con-
tract is not valid if the contracting par-
ties are not absolutely free to enter into
it, or refuse. A contract is even consid-
ered immoral, as against public policy,
if entered into under duress. "Freedom
of contract" means all this. But now,
a perverse mob, leavened with the per-
verser leaven of Socialism, is setting up
its many-headed monstrosity, and in-
terpreting the term in a novel way—a
downtight abominable way. It is claim-
ing that hungry men, unable to reach
mother earth, from whose womb of nat-
ural opportunities they are barred by the
holders of the social opportunities
(capital), are not in the condition pre-
requisite for entering into a free con-
tract! The many-headed monster is set-
ting up the theory that such hungry
men are under duress when they con-
tract with an employer, that the em-
ployer takes advantage of their stress,
and that the "wages-contract," thus en-
tered upon, is no contract at all, no more
than when the wayfarer surrenders his
purse to the highwayman, who covers
him with a bludgeon! The many-headed
monster is even more impudent. It de-
mands the establishment of conditions
for what it impudently calls the "true"
freedom of contract—conditions under
which natural and social opportunities,
land and machinery, being open to all,
as the property of all, whoever contracts
shall be at a par with whomever he
contracts with! And in the meanwhile the
many-headed monstrosity carries its
monstrous impudence to the point of set-
ting up artificial fortifications, which it
unpatriotically names "Unions" and from
behind which it seeks to restrict the free-
dom all along enjoyed by the employer!

Of course, such impudent assumptions
are enough either to disgust or to en-
rage the liberty-loving employer. His
one-time freedom of whacking the lion's
share out of his helpless workmen, is
threatened to be put in chains, and even
his one-time dearly cherished liberty, of
calling the terms that he dictated to his
workmen "a contract," is being ques-
tioned!

At a season, so trying to the capital-
ist class, what could there be more op-
portunity than the ringing voice of a
Liberator—the right man, at the right
place, uttering the right word—and in-
sisting that the employers' "struggle for
private and public liberty" is the vital
question of the day?

Salve, Eliot, liberator!

"VESTED RIGHTS" AND "POLICE POWER."

Both the owners of antique tenement
houses and the advocates of the new
Tenement law are making history and
establishing precedents.

The new Tenement law proceeds
upon the theory that many of the ex-
isting tenements are unsanitary. The
smallness and location of the rooms;
the absence or bad location of the
bathrooms; to say nothing of the
closets; the impossibility of proper
ventilation;—in short, the system upon
which the concerns were built is in-
jurious to health. The changes were
ordered as "an exercise of police power,"
a head of the law under which leg-
islation has the right of way. All this,
in a way, is history and precedent. It
makes havoc of the capitalist pretence
of "individuality," behind which the
capitalist criminal is ever wont to en-
trench himself. Legislation, mandatory
legislation, at that, was restored to
in order to protect the lives of tenants,
despite the one-time claim that such
protection was "paternalism" and
harmful to the development of "in-
dividual initiative."—So far, so good.

But the owners of the antique tenement
houses, which the law ordered to be
overhauled, were not disposed to be
left behind in the praiseworthy act of
making history and establishing prece-
dents. If the Tenement law upholds
were to furnish arguments to the
Socialist Movement, why not the an-
tique tenement owners also? So the lat-
ter started in, and it must be admit-
ted, have out-run their competitors.
Their competitors only furnished prece-
dents for the stout use of the leg-
islative broom, "individual initiative"
or no "individual initiative." The an-
tique tenement house owners have fur-
nished illustrations of "vested rights."
Their argument against the new law is
that it requires certain structural
changes in the tenements that have
hitherto yielded neat little incomes,
and they set up the claim that that is
"TO TAKE AWAY THEIR PROPERTY
WITHOUT COMPENSATION." A grander illustration of "vested rights"

for future use can ill be imagined.
The antique tenements are pronounced
unsanitary. If to condemn them and to
order structural changes in them is
"to take away property without com-
pensation," or "confiscation," what else
is the "vested right" of these "inter-
ests" but the right to undermine health
and thereby take life?—The antique
tenement house owners prove the case
to perfection.

The usurpation of to-day becomes
the "vested right" of to-morrow. There
is not a vested right in existence but
flows from a usurpation of yesterday.
The "exercise of police power," a well
established principle of law, can and
will sweep out of existence these
"vested rights" in the blood and mar-
row of the working class. What else
is Capitalism but a "vested right"?
And what else is Socialism but an
"exercise of police power"?

TOLDEROLLOLL, FATHER VAN AKEN!

At this critical epoch when Europe
at large, and now America also, are in
the convulsions that denote the afflic-
tion—at least the belief in the afflic-
tion—of a grave social struggle, the
struggle foretold by Marx, the Rever-
end E. M. Van Aken has come forth
with a soothing balsam—something
even better than a soothing balsam,
a positive counter-irritant. The po-
tion is administered in a neat 78-
paged, blue-covered booklet, that es-
tablishes beyond peradventure the
"fad-and-fanciness" of Socialism, the
utter unreliability of Marx.

The argument is neat, forceful and
 terse. Marx prophesied increasingly
 acute industrial competition as a re-
 sult of private capital; in the wake
 of that the enslavement, moral and
 material, bestialization of the laborer;
 hence in hand therewith the concentra-
 tion of wealth in the hands of a few,
 with the eventual disappearance of the
 middle class and the appearance of a
 large reserve army of superfluous la-
 bor; finally the assumption of the con-
 trol of society by the working class
 and the establishment of Socialism.
 Having thus summarized Marx, the
 Rev. Van Aken, summarizes the sum-
 mary with the following dismissal and
 confutation:

"More than thirty-five years have
 elapsed since Marx flaunted this
 threat into the face of society, and yet
 we have not seen its fulfillment; there
 are no signs on the social and econ-
 omical horizon of increasing poverty,
 of bestialization, of a reserve army of
 superfluous laborers."

This is settler—for all time.
 Nevertheless and for all that, us
 seems to see some impatient fellow
 rise in his seat, in the vast auditorium
 of civilization into which he has
 squeezed, his insolent personality; and
 rush forward; pull out of the good
 Father Van Aken's belt the holy man's
 pocket-Bible; turn up impudently St.
 Matthew, Chap. 24; partly read aloud
 verses 29 to 33 foretelling the dark-
 ening of the sun and moon, the fall-
 ing of the stars, the appearance of the
 Angels of final Judgment, the sum-
 moning of the elect and their gather-
 ing from the four winds, closing with
 verse 34: "This generation shall not
 pass till all these things be fulfilled."
 Us seems to see and hear the bump-
 stous fellow jauntily apostrophize the
 scandalized Father: "With what grace,
 by what process of reasoning can you,
 who clothe yourself in the sanctity of
 the words of this book, presume to
 refute Marx's 'prophecy' on the mere
 allegation that thirty-five short years
 have elapsed and the 'prophecy' has
 not yet been verified? Marx never
 specified so short a period for the
 downfall of capitalism; on the con-
 trary his argument shows the process
 would be slow. Granting, for the sake
 of argument that there is as yet no
 sign of 'increasing poverty,' of 'bestial-
 ization' or of the 'reserve army';
 how dare you weave out of that a
 proof that Marx's 'prophecy' was a
 'gratuitous prophecy,' in the face of the
 fact that the moon and stars have not
 yet fallen, that no one has yet either
 seen or heard the final Judgment
 Angels and their trumpets, that the
 elect are yet scattered to the four winds
 and that Satan—as your own activity
 on earth testifies—is still busily at
 work keeping you stirring and your
 hands full, and all that after unnum-
 bered generations have passed since
 the generation which was not to pass
 till all those things were fulfilled?"—
 To the impudent fellow, who would
 make such an argument against Father
 Van Aken's settler, we would simply
 say this: "Thou art obviously a
 Socialist. Obviously thou confirmest
 Father Kref's words that Socialism
 destroys 'the submission due to the
 priest in all things.' Sit down, thou
 perambulating lump of insolence!"

And no sooner was this scamp
 disposed of when, us seems, another
 would rise. He would quote the statis-
 tics on concentration of wealth, the
 statistics on crime, the statistics on the
 increasing numbers of paupers, too
 numerous to be attended to by the
 charity organizations, the statistics on
 the mortality in the working class,
 the statistics on the recurring in-
 creasing volume of the unemployed.
 He would quote all that and sit down
 with a heathenish look of self-appraisal
 and blurt out: "There goes your
 'settler'!"—But to this misguided
 brother we would give the warning:
 "Knowest thou not that FACTS are
 material, and FICTION only ethereal,
 spiritual? Be not thou a grovelling
 materialist!"

Oh, what a relief! A nightmare is

lifted from the chest of humanity. We
 thought there was a social crash on.
 It has been called off—all thanks to
 the Rev. E. M. Van Aken.

Why did he not speak up before?

IT HAS STARTED!!!

The Appeal To Reason—"the leading
 Socialist" weekly in this country"—
in its issue of November 25th, con-
 tains an instructive object lesson.
 It consists of a three-page advertise-
 ment. The advertisement is headed
 by a three-inch cut, which runs across
 the entire width of one of the pages,
 and depicts a hand writing on a wall the word

"CO-OPERATION."

The above is followed by the follow-
 ing sentences, which also trail clean
 across the page, in proportionately
 smaller type:

"Heed the Handwriting on the wall.
 "Co-operation spells the doom of all
 capitalist monopolies."

"Co-operation is the principle which
 will deliver the producing classes of
 the country from the bondage of the
 competitive profit system."

"Co-operation, wherever applied for
 the distribution of merchandise, has
 meant to the consumer savings in
 expense and profit on the savings."

"Co-operation doubles your purchas-
 ing power and doubles the money saved
 of your purchase if invested in a co-
 operative system."

Underneath these flaring headlines
 appears

"An Open Letter To The 600,000 So-
 cialist Voters of 1904."

The character of the open letter is
 partly revealed in this sentence:

"As yet Socialism is a theory only,
 and must remain a theory until its
 value can be DEMONSTRATED BY
 PRACTICAL APPLICATION. (Caps
 are ours). This practical application
 must come first in a small way; and,
 if successfully executed, will command
 respect and attention for greater
 things"—and partly in the fact that it
 states the application has already been
 made by a PRIVATE CO-OPERAT-
 IVE MAIL-ORDER STOCK COM-
 PANY, which, on that, and the other
 pages, offers its shares to the readers
 of the Appeal To Reason, in a manner
 that recall the advertisements of the
 get-rich-quick bogus stock schemes.

The object lesson furnished by the
 Appeal To Reason, is plain. It means
 that "the 600,000 Socialist votes" are
 already being exploited by private in-
 terests, in the honored name of So-
 cialism!

In the interests of a concern that,
 because of its purely distributive char-
 acter, appeals mainly to middle-class
 consumers—in the interests of a con-
 cern that is bound by the inexorable
 law of profit TO EXPLOIT ITS OWN
 WAGE-WORKERS, I. E. THE PRO-
 DUCERS, IN ORDER THAT IT MAY
 PAY THE DIVIDENDS ON ITS IN-
 VESTMENTS, AS PER PROSPEC-
 TUS—in the interests of a concern,
 in brief, that means the perpetuation
 of the middle-class and the wage sys-
 tem, the great doctrine of INTEGRAL
 co-operation, i. e., Socialism—already
 practically demonstrated and fore-
 shadowed in the workings of the great
 trusts, beside which this concern is
 not merely a veriest pigmy, but a
 positive caricature—is misrepresented,
 abused and perverted to ignoble ends.

The object lesson furnished by the
 Appeal To Reason is a repetition of
 the colonization spirit of the early
 Debs party, which even that party
 abandoned. It is a keeping alive of
 the sordid spirit of the schemers, who,
 like carrion crows, ever seek to turn
 to private profit the movement of the
 workers, and who are "practical" only
 in the sense that they demonstrate
 their own graft spirit!

Ho there, ye stalwarts of the Social-
 ist Labor Party! Get busy! There is
 a big educational task before us, if
 our class is to survive the many frauds
 that are sure to arise intent upon ex-
 ploiting latent Utopianism.

If the New York Commercial is to be
 believed, "Industrial war will continue
 just so long as employers are timorous
 and lack self-assertion." If one looks
 about him, he will find that where em-
 ployers are most aggressive, as in Col-
 orado, for instance, there industrial war
 is a long drawn and deadly reality,
 and not a mere figure of complacent
 journalistic speech. Industrial war is due
 to the conflicting interests of capital
 and labor. Cowardice may invite it, but
 courage, such as the Commercial lauds,
 only serves to accentuate, but never to
 end it.

According to press despatches, an
 engineer, writing to a Washington
 friend, complains that systematic de-
 ception with regard to expenses,
 traveling privileges, habitation and
 wages, is practiced by the Panama
 Canal Commission. If this is the fate
 of the skilled engineer, what will be
 the fate of the unskilled laborers who
 follow? The indications for plenty of
 jobbery and labor troubles on the canal
 in the future, are not lacking.

Uncle Sam and Brother Jonathan's
 discussion of "The Burning Question
 of Trades Unionism" should not be
 missed. Read it!

The People is a good broom to brush
 the cobwebs from the minds of the
 workers. Buy a copy and pass it around.

Flash-Lights of the Amsterdam Congress

[Rather than try to give a condensed
 report of the Amsterdam Congress and
 of what I saw of the European Move-
 ment in general, I shall present a series
 of articles under the above general head,
 subdivided under special heads. This
 flash-light method will be on the whole
 better. It will deal in detail with per-
 sons and things; and the flash-lights will,
 in the end, be seen to run into one an-
 other and portray the scene more ef-
 fectively.—DANIEL DE LEON.]

XI

THE INTERNATIONAL BUREAU.

Marx's name has reached the point
 where tradition clusters around him.
 Among the Marxian traditions that I
 heard in Europe was his conception
 concerning the central administrative
 body of the International. According
 to that conception, the International
 Socialist Congresses were to be only a
 temporary, transitional and social af-
 fair. The real, ultimate and effective
 fruit of the transitional period being
 an International Conference essentially
 different from the Congresses. The
 Congresses were large, the Conference
 would be small; the Congresses were
 public, the Conference would be secret;
 the Congresses were legislative, the
 Conference would be executive. While
 the Congresses would debate, discuss,
 gather for friendly intercourse, the
 Conference would meet for action. The
 tradition forecast the present Inter-
 national Bureau, and this, in turn is
 supposed to foreshadow the real "Bu-
 reau" of the tradition—an unobtrusive
 meeting of one or two representative
 men from the several nationalities,
 in some unadvertised place, for the
 purpose of conferring upon the ripeness
 of the times, and at-the fit hour, de-
 cide upon and give the signal for the
 downfall of Capitalism, or bourgeois
 rule. The tradition sounds luridly re-
 volutionary, much akin to conspiracy.
 And yet there is nothing lurid or con-
 spiracy-like about the thought in its
 essential features. It is perfectly nat-
 ural. The very thing is now going on
 in capitalist circles. The Socialist pro-
 gram is no secret. It demands the
 unconditional surrender of capitalism;
 its International Congresses so an-
 nounce it to the world; its local or-
 ganizations work to that end. Nothing
 more natural than that conferences,
 intended to feel the pulse of the times,
 should be held. They certainly are
 held now whenever two Socialists meet.
 That the day will come when more
 than two will make up the conference,
 and that such conferences will not be
 heralded and cried from the house-tops,
 is obvious. Whether, however, the con-
 ferences in question will proceed upon
 the theory that the Social Revolution
 will be simultaneously international,
 and that it will take place with the
 mathematical precision implied by the
 tradition, is another question. Indeed,
 the tradition, as traditions generally,
 has certainly come down distorted. It
 is hardly likely that Marx could have
 expressed a view indicative of such a
 Punch and Judy conception of society.
 For all that, the tradition does forecast
 correctly the formation of an Inter-
 national Bureau, where the interna-
 tional affairs of the Movement can be
 attended to more soberly than it is
 possible to attend to them in mob Con-
 gresses. In so far, Marx's forecast
 reflects the uniformity of the man's
 clearness of vision.

The Edinburgh "Socialist," organ of
 the British Socialist Labor Party, pub-
 lished in its September issue a witty
 periscope of both the manner in which
 the delegations of the present Inter-
 national Congresses are made up, and
 the manner in which the Interna-
 tional Bureau deports itself. As to the
 former, (the delegations) the satire
 refers to the fact that the British de-
 legation greatly out-numbered the Ger-
 man, despite the latter's 2,000,000 votes;
 and graphically reproducing the spirit
 in which many of the delegations were
 made up, the British especially, the
 satire puts into the mouth of Hyndman
 of the British Social Democratic Fed-
 eration a speech illustrative of the
 situation. The gentleman declares to
 his fellow British delegates that he is
 "gratified at the enormous growth of
 Socialism in Great Britain"; that the
 enormity of the growth "was evinced
 by the large number of delegates";
 that that was "the best and most re-
 liable test"; that some people estimate
 the strength of a Socialist organization
 by the amount and soundness of agita-
 tion it carried on, but that those who
 thought so "took a very narrow and
 provincial view of things"; and that
 the thing to do was to strive and send
 ever more delegates to the International
 Congresses. As to the latter, (the
 International Bureau) the satire gets
 up the following resolution in the name
 of the said huge British delegation
 as the climax of their deliberations:
 "Resolved, That the class struggle does
 and shall continue to exist until not-
 tified to the contrary by the officials of
 the International Bureau." I may here
 also add the opinion of Mrs. Corinne S.
 Brown of the "Socialist", or "Social
 Democratic" delegation, whom I quoted
 once before. Writing from Amsterdam
 to the Milwaukee "Social Democratic
 Herald" the lady said: "Every thing
 seems to be settled by the Bureau,
 nothing by the convention"—all of
 which correctly reflects two facts: the
 loose, picnic spirit in which the Con-
 gresses are made up, as a whole, and
 the arbitrary deportment of the Bureau.

In fact the latter is the inevitable con-
 sequence of the former.

Marx must have foreseen the social
 or picnic character of the Congresses.
 He must also have realized the impos-
 sibility of remedying the evil, in
 so far as it is an evil. Difficult to
 conceive is any scheme of "basis of
 representation" that would impart to
 the delegations another, a soberer char-
 acter. Moreover, even if such a scheme
 were conceived and enforced, its con-
 templated purpose would suffer ship-
 wreck upon the rock of the unavoid-
 able Babel of languages. There is but
 one way out—a working Bureau. Thus
 arose since the Paris Congress of 1890
 the International Socialist Bureau called
 for short International Bureau, con-
 sisting of two representatives of each
 nationality that chooses to enroll it-
 self.

I have not yet heard a criticism of
 the International Bureau that is not
 correct. It is, on the morrow, in-
 consistent with its own precedents of
 the previous day; it now decides a case one
 way, then another; it is hasty; it is
 childish; it is arbitrary. An illustra-
 tion of these facts was furnished in my
 report to the Australian and the
 Canadian Socialist Labor Party; an-
 other, and if possible, stronger illus-
 tration will appear in the subsequent
 article "The British S. L. P." The satire
 quoted above from the Edinburgh "So-
 cialist" is felicitous: the Bureau's pre-
 sent attitude is just one to warrant the
 joke that it could notify the class
 struggle that the latter was abrogated.
 The International Bureau is all that,
 and yet it is eminently necessary and
 eminently useful. All its defects, and
 they are numerous, are inevitable; but
 they are inevitable only at this, the
 Bureau's unripe age. Born of the need
 for order and of the purpose to solidify
 the international movement through a
 channel of rapid intercommunication,
 the International Bureau may be safely
 expected to gradually cast off the
 slough of the defects of its youth, and
 set itself into proper working order.
 This consummation is all the more cer-
 tain seeing that the Bureau consists of
 the elite of the Movement.

The Administration's projected an-
 ti-trust prosecution promises to be as
 lively, and as futile, as the Rooseveltian
 anti-trust campaign of some two
 years ago. What a "strenuous" blow
 and bluster was created then! What
 direful disaster was to befall the trusts
 then! "Publicity" was wanted. Given
 that, and death would mark the scene.
 "Publicity" was enacted into the law
 of the land, but the trusts suffered
 not. They continued on their destined
 way, inflating here, consolidating there,
 and transgressing the laws intended
 to restrain and curb them elsewhere.
 This will be the case again. The ad-
 ministration's anti-trust crusade will
 deprive the "trust busters" of their
 thunder, but it will not hurt the trusts.
 They thrive during such "prosecu-
 tions."

Mrs. Florence Kelley, addressing the
 Women's Conference of the Ethical So-
 ciety, on "The Condition of the Women
 Wage Workers in Factories and Shops"
 said:

"I have made a study of the condi-
 tion of girls working in white goods
 mills and find that those running ma-
 chines that make 4,400 stitches a min-
 ute last about six months after they
 have acquired skill in their trades.
 Then their eyes give out or their nerves
 are so shattered that they suffer from
 nervous collapse or tuberculosis and
 other diseases."

This exhaustion of nervous and phys-
 ical energy, is also characteristic of
 the male machine wage worker. He
 lasts somewhat longer, but in the end,
 the pace becomes too much for even
 him.

The declaration of President Parry
 that the "open shop" increases output
 25 to 50 per cent. is incomplete. He
 should also tell how much it increases
 the death rate, as in these days of
 intensified labor and high death rates
 among wages workers, it is hard to
 conceive of such a big difference in
 output without a corresponding big
 difference in the number of working
 class deaths. When that is done, it
 may appear that President Parry's
 open shop is closely related to the
 open grave.

Parry's claim that 1,000 open shops
 were established during the past year,
 overlooks the depression prevailing
 during that time. This made labor
 conditions bad and the abolition of the
 closed shop easy. A year from now
 labor conditions may swing to the other
 end of the pendulum. Then will
 come the true test of the open shop.
 Then, as before the depression, the
 closed shop is likely to supersede it.

The press rejoices in the re-election
 of Gompers. They see in it "a re-
 buke to Socialism." The editorial tribe
 will be surprised to learn some day that
 what Gompers is rebuking is not So-
 cialism, but a despicable, cowardly
 caricature of it. Their elation will
 then give way to fear.

The thugs who do the strike-break-
 ing for the capitalists who are in-
 terested in the simple life, no doubt
 are duly impressed with the simplicity
 of their method of settling industrial
 disputes.



UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN.

Brother Jonathan—Uncle Sam, I wish
 to have a heart-to-heart talk with you
 Uncle Sam—It shall be heart-to-heart!
 B. J.—About the Trades Union Ques-
 tion.

U. S.—A big question!
 B. J.—You are a Socialist Labor Party
 man; I know where you stand on that
 question.

U. S.—None can mistake us.
 B. J.—And I'm a Socialist Party man
—you know where we stand on that.

U. S.—No, I don't! Some of you stand
 one where; others of you stand else-
 where.

B. J. (embarrassed)—There's a good
 deal in that—and that's why I wanted
 a heart-to-heart talk with you.

U. S.—You're having it.

B. J.—Is not capital concentrating?

U. S.—It is!

B. J.—And the more it does, aren't
 the chances of a Union to resist capitalist
 encroachments slimmer and slimmer?

U. S.—So they are.

B. J.—And the Trust stage of concen-
 tration is bound to come?

U. S.—It is.

B. J.—And then the Union's chances
 of resistance will be gone, would they
 not?

U. S.—In that ultimate event, they
 would.

B. J. (in great glee)—Now, that's why
 I say—to hell with the Union! There's
 no use bothering with them! They're
 going to smash anyhow! Let 'em go!
 What's the sense in either joining or
 fighting 'em! Let's turn our backs on
 'em, and give all our time to the polit-
 ical movement. Let's save ourselves the
 annoyance of all these union wrangles!
 Let's—let's—

U. S.—Not so fast!

B. J.—Ain't I right?

U. S.—You're wrong!

B. J.—Notwithstanding you admitted
 the inevitableness of the Trust stage?

U. S.—Is it a shouting match you
 wanted, or a heart-to-heart talk?

B. J. (cooling down)—A heart-to-
 heart talk.

U. S.—Very well! Then keep cool!
 With what element do you expect to
 man your "political movement," with

CORRESPONDENCE

CORRESPONDENTS WHO PREFER TO APPEAR IN PRINT UNDER AN ASSUMED NAME WILL ATTACH SUCH NAME TO THEIR COMMUNICATIONS, BESIDE THEIR OWN SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS. NONE OTHER WILL BE RECOGNIZED.

"GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP."

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Having heard much recently about how "government ownership" of railroads, telephone, telegraph, etc., can advance "the interests of the people," let me, as an employee of the postal service, give a little light on the subject. I want to state emphatically that the condition of employees in the post office department is the most degrading, morally, physically and economically; not because the individuals will it, but the surroundings breed such an effect.

Take for example the carrier. Before one can become a carrier he has a trying time as a substitute, serving from two to two and one half years as such, without salary, making a living by filling up the regular carrier's time when the latter is sick, and receiving his pay for same; also by delivering special letters, which pay eight cents each. To this is added the nominal sum of one dollar a year, paid by the government to meet all the legal requirements.

After this experience, the substitute may be added to the force of regular carriers. His first year yields him a salary of \$600; the second, \$800 and third, \$1,000. This is the maximum. The hours of duty are such as would try the strongest constitution being from 5 to 6 a. m., until 6 or 7 p. m., only working eight hours during that time, but through a system of swinging tours, the hours are drawn over a period as described above. The working conditions or quarters are most foul and unsanitary, unfit for the use of human beings. The state of affairs are such as to dull the intellect. The individual who, at some time, may have had hopes of improving his future in some other occupation, finds but little opportunity to develop such ambitions. There is very little time for sport or pleasure seeking. Considering the uniform, cap or hat, to be bought from the meagre pay, also the cost of living under present conditions, the number of years before receiving the maximum salary, etc., and the Socialist's contention that "the price of labor is determined by the amount necessary for its subsistence," proves correct.

The pension bill has been under discussion for such a number of years, that the case looks hopeless, also the increase of salary bill, on which the false leaders in the organization (Letter Carriers' Association), manage to mislead the rank and file. In this branch of the postal service there is no promotion, whatever the ability.

The clerks are in a decidedly worse position, they receiving their promotion according to political influence or affiliation. There is a merit system, under which employees enter the service. But once entering, other means are necessary to improve one's position and politics is the means of securing the most comfortable and best financial positions. This eight hour law is not established. They receive \$600 on entering as regular clerk, having also to substitute, but only for a few months. No stipulated time when promotion occurs. Working conditions are shocking, involving unreasonable hours of day and night and never considering the physical impossibilities of the human system.

There is also the transportation department, and railway mail service, where men perform tasks, most trying on the system. The work is such as to require quite an intelligent man to perform, the remuneration insignificant. They are both governed by the same rules and regulations as the clerical department.

I would state here that almost every week new rules are printed by the service, as conditions require, and it behooves employees to keep familiar with such published rules.

The conditions of affairs here portrayed is by no means that desired by any reasonable workingman, and by Socialists, especially. "Government ownership" under capitalism is not collective ownership under Socialism, which is truly a government of, for and by the people, and not like the present one a government of, for and by the capitalist class. Under Socialism the cure for most social evils, including "government ownership," will be found.

One Who Knows.

New York, Nov. 30.

LOOKING TO THE FUTURE WITH NOTHING TO REGRET IN THE PAST.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—How many times have the ears of the Socialist Labor Party heard the remark "You are too narrow, too antagonistic to everything, nothing can be accomplished by an attitude such as your party takes." Let us see what the past presidential election says: Reaction in the

form of the Democratic party has received its death blow; progressive capitalism has triumphed far beyond its expectations; the Social Democratic party has polled a big vote, though falling short of its votaries forecasts; the S. L. P. refuses to be "dead."

The big vote of the Debsites shows that a large mass of discontent exists in the United States to-day (only a deluded Debsite would tickle himself with the fancy that it was a class conscious vote), and the question for us to consider is how is that mass to be moulded into a revolutionary form. Is it by means of the Debs party? In answer to this query let us take a look at Massachusetts. Everyone knows that in this State several members of the Social Democracy held office and all in all it was, in the opinion of the Debsites, the bright jewel in their "crown of thorns." In the tidal wave of capitalism how has "the bright jewel" weathered it? It has gone down with all hands.

The reason therefore is not far to seek; they have had an organization whose broadness none can imagine and whose glad hand welcomed everyone were he crook or fakir. The actions of the members elected to office were not discernible from that orthodox humbug, the "friend of labor." Judging from these facts is it any wonder that their "votes" stampeded, when someone cries, "Let's get something now?"

What happened in Massachusetts will happen, more or less, sooner or later, throughout the stamping grounds of the Debsites. All the more necessary, consequently, is it that the members of the Socialist Labor Party should recognize the absolute necessity of building up the organization, carrying on an unceasing propaganda, spreading the literature of the Party and securing as many readers of the People as hard persistent effort can accomplish.

Yes, the Socialist Labor Party is "narrow," far too narrow for people with patent nostrils for the cure of the wage-slave's body politic; too narrow for crooks and fakirs; too antagonistic to self-seeking deluders of our class; too antagonistic to worn out ideas, realizing that nothing can or will be accomplished until our class is educated to a consciousness of their class interests, which latter must be done by a "narrow," "intolerant" organization, such as the Socialist Labor Party and not by a broad gladhandism such as the Debsite fellowships.

The Socialist Labor Party looks forward to the future, having nothing to regret in the past.

James M. Reed.
Toronto, Canada, Nov. 28.

FACING THE MUSIC LIKE MEN.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Despite the fact that we have no organization in Manchester, Conn., we received ten votes, and as I view the situation, it seems to me that the line or point is reached where the working class, conscious or otherwise, divides into two camps: A capitalist camp on the one hand and a labor camp on the other. Therefore I fully agree with "S. L. P." in his letter in last week's Weekly People, that "now is the time to put in good work and make it tell."

As the classes began to divide in their last campaign, it is the duty of every Socialist Labor Party man to direct this division to the best of his ability. If he can't do it by speaking, let him do it by distributing literature and gathering subs for the party press. Up to now, I think we have not done much work but it seems to me the time is here when we must strain every nerve in order to reach the hundreds of thousands of workmen who, according to returns, do not see clear enough to vote for their own interests by voting for the Socialist Labor Party, but voted for any freak party outside the roughshod plutocratic Republican party. Therefore, comrades, if we have pledged our energy to the Socialist Labor Party and working class emancipation, we must face the music like men.

G. Reichenback.
Rockville, Conn., Nov. 28.

POVERTY IN DENVER.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—The Denver Post, is giving away with each ten cent ad in the Sunday issue of its publication, a fifteen cents box of Pillsbury's Vitos (Where does the middle class come in), and then brags of the large number of ads displayed in its columns. The News is giving away to each subscriber to their paper a photograph. I notice that large crowds of unemployed are blocking the sidewalks in front of the numerous employment offices, jostling each other to be the first one to get a glimpse of some favorable adv.

I am working in a cigar store four hours a day. One day last week as I went to relieve the proprietor for lunch I noticed that he had purchased some coal, about a half a ton remaining outside, which was not taken in, the man who had the job having gone to

eat. Well in three quarters of an hour, fully five men came in to apply for the job of taking in the coal.

Last but not least, I am collecting for a certain party, and one incident is worthy of mention. There is a family the father is a carpenter and a good mechanic. The man had employment, but is now laid off. He has been unable to obtain any other employment. The mother is very anxious to give her children a good education, but she has been compelled to take her daughter and son from the school room. She found the daughter a job for \$3 a week, the boy is not very strong, and has been less fortunate. Well, to make a long story short, last week when the girl brought the \$3 home, her soles were worn through so that her foot was bare, and she wept, because the mother was unable to get her shoes, requiring all the money to live on during the following week. The father has left town, and gone to Salda, to get work. It is about a week since he left, but she has heard nothing from him. M. H.
Denver, Colo., Nov. 24.

CAPITALIST "INCENTIVE."

To the Daily and Weekly People:—One of the particular hobby horses which the opponents of Socialism are very fond of riding, is that under Socialism the incentive to all inventions and progress will be eliminated. To this particular point they cling with the tenacity of a monkey hanging on a tree.

The inclosed clipping from "New Ideas" is submitted to the perusal of the above mentioned people.

A. Orange.

(Enclosure.)

The "vision-box" which J. B. Fowler, of Portland, Ore., is said to have invented as an attachment to the telephone will probably never have a career of usefulness for reason that the inventor is so jealous of the instrument that he has destroyed it. The secret of the machine has been guarded carefully and although a few persons have seen it in operation, the method by which the results are accomplished are known only to the inventor. His motive in destroying the apparatus was his fear that the invention would be stolen from him. He said in explanation of his conduct that some years ago he perfected an invention for an entirely different purpose and had it stored in a trunk in his room. An acquaintance who had learned something of the device secured admission to the room and breaking open the trunk stole the device, which he subsequently sold for \$60,000.

Some mention of the apparatus has previously appeared in "New Ideas" and a photograph of attachment appeared in a recent issue of the Portland Oregonian. It consists of a large lens encircled by a protective frame and placed just below the transmitter of the telephone. It is claimed that the picture of the person at the other end of the line with whom the conversation is being conducted can be seen perfectly. At a recent demonstration of the device the inventor's sister took her place at one end of the telephone circuit in one room and the persons in another room at the other end of the line could see her plainly and as she spoke her lips were seen to move.

THE DAILY PEOPLE CHRISTMAS FUND.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Christmas is soon at hand. But a few weeks more and the time will once more come when it is customary to remember our dear ones and distribute among them tokens of our love and respect. Perhaps you are already counting your meagre savings, and planning what you shall get and give this or that one.

Before it is too late I want to call your attention to the fact that The People is and should be counted among your friends and dear ones. In the face of great difficulties, it has fought YOUR battle for you throughout the year and you should not forget it now, but place it upon your list of those whom you will remember at Christmas time. Do not hesitate because you can give but little. We are not all situated equally; some can give more than others. However, every little helps and is most welcome.

I have to-day contributed my little mite (\$1.00), to start the ball a rolling, and it is now up to you to make that gift as large as possible. Don't wait to the last, send it in at once, for the faster the gift grows the more it will arouse those who at first might hesitate. Now, all together for a rattling big Christmas gift for our struggling press—the People.

Fraternally,
Frank Janke.

Indianapolis, Ind., Nov. 29.

DEMAND FOR S. L. P.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—The official count of vote, as issued by the Secretary of the Commonwealth, gives us 2,211 votes for Corregan. This is real good and shows that there is a demand for a party like the S. L. P. in this State. The thing to be done now is to spread the party literature throughout the State.

Silas Hinkel.
Reading, Pa., Nov. 27.

If you receive a sample copy of this paper it is an invitation to subscribe.

ARE WE AT BULGARIA OR ITALY?

The flash-light on Enrico Ferri and Bulgaria is a searchlight as well, inasmuch as it throws an unlooked for light along the path upon which we ourselves are moving onward—a light for which I, for one, have been looking for months.

Having had an excellent opportunity during the last year to observe the Party in several States, certain conclusions have forced themselves to my mind, and became stronger as the months passed by and new evidence piled up.

That the Kangaroo split was inevitable no S. L. P. man will to-day dispute; that it took vigor, bravery and moral backbone to challenge the brigade of labor leaders, and brand as capitalist institutions all that had formerly been considered and honored as the labor movement is unquestionable; that it took revolutionary clearness and foresight to brush aside opportunism can not fail in time to be admitted. The time has long since passed for discussing whether the one or the other is the thing to do; the thing is done, and for five years we have been grinding down and polishing up, so to speak, so that the Socialist Labor Party now presents a well-defined policy. Throughout the land, and to all concerned, to the shrewd and clear-sighted politicians of the Hanna type, to the labor leaders of the Gompers type, the biggest and smallest Kangaroo, and, moreover, to the mass of the workers who have heard the Socialist Labor Party speak—to all of these the Socialist Labor Party stands for several cardinal and clearly understood truths: First, that the Socialist Labor Party has nothing in common with the capitalist class and its parties, and that it neither will, nor can, compromise an inch. Second, that it considers the modern labor leaders, agents of the capitalist class, and the A. F. of L., and its kindred organizations, capitalist institutions. Third, that to it, there exists only one economic labor union—the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. Fourth, that it cares not for a single vote behind which there stands not a clear-sighted, intelligent and class conscious proletarian. Fifth, that it scorns opportunism, and the visionary notion that society can be reformed behind its back.

These, as said, are now cardinal points of faith of the Socialist Labor Party. They are written in red letters over the portal of our temple, so to speak, and the whole world has a chance to know them. They are the fundamental principles of our revolutionary tactics, and if it had been necessary to split the party into a thousand fragments, and grind down to the smallest atom in order to get the least particle of such clear crystal, it would have had to be done. He who can not accept these truths, we scorn to call a Socialist, a comrade.

At this state, it ought to be plain to the observer, that the Socialist Labor Party is entering upon a new status of development, when policy, tactics, judgment, or whatever you may call it, are as necessary as force of character, bravery and backbone. It is at this stage that the danger is threatening, as perceived by Enrico Ferri, of persons becoming extreme, one-sided, and even petrified in their views. To give some concrete illustrations: I have met comrades who take the position that, in order for the Socialist Labor Party to remain "clear," it is necessary to have a split once a year, or once every two years, or once in a while at least; and there are others inclined to think one utopian and a little sentimental who will declare that the Socialist Labor Party splitting period is passed, and that the building-up period must be on hand if the Party is to fulfill the historic mission for which it has been inaugurated. Again, some comrades, if the discussion has led upon the struggle of the proletarians in the "Socialist" party, and we have held that there is in that party hundreds of young men and women giving their time, strength and mind to the movement, honestly desirous of Socialism, and that these belong to us and must come, perhaps singly, maybe also in numbers, a rather pathetic smile will spread on their faces, and they will say: "I hope not; I hope not, we have had enough of Kangaroos, and don't want them."

Certain points in this connection should be clearly understood. These people are not Kangaroos in the same sense that those were who jumped out of the Party in 1899 or later. They are Kangaroos only by association, by adoption, as it were, by adherence to the same cause. In feeling they are Socialists, and in experience, are now passing through the stage the Party did from ten to five years ago, with this difference only: that the S. L. P. had to hew its own way, but for late comers it is already a broad path which it is our duty to point out to them. Efforts are everywhere made to make them readers of The People. Its columns have been thrown open to their protests against corruption

and muddleheadedness in their party. Individuals have come into the Socialist Labor Party and some ex-Kangs acknowledging themselves deluded have returned to the Party the wiser for their experience.

While it is absolutely out of the question that there can be any flirting, association, or compromise with the Social Democratic Party, there certainly ought to be policy, tactics, or something of that sort by which we can attract to us what absolutely belongs to us, whether inside or outside the S. D. P. Again, it should be realized that the Socialist Labor Party of 1904 is not the Socialist Labor Party of 1894. The principles of the Party were then in process of formation, and anybody who had a general quarrel with anything in society was attracted to the Socialist Labor Party. To-day these principles are cardinal points of faith, echoed broadly throughout the land, and he who has not mastered them will steer clear of us.

There is to-day, then, instead of being a danger in numbers, an absolute strength in them, as numbers from now on necessarily mean CLEAR NUMBERS, and when inspired with one mind, the larger the number the stronger the mass. The Kangaroo danger is vanished from our horizon, for Kangaroosism and S. L. Pism once having separated repel each other as the positive and negative poles of a magnet. It behooves us, of course, to be awake, and more so, as the movement grows stronger, that no lieutenants of the capitalist class get in and side-track the movement. But after all, the greatest danger to our movement lies in not being able to reach the working class and put the question to them in such a manner that they can understand our position, hence, become thoroughly class-conscious, because it is not the class-conscious Socialist Labor Party man, but the "half-baked" "Socialist" that falls prey to these lieutenants.

It is the duty of every Socialist Labor Party man to study the composition of the working class, and so conduct himself in all measures as to win its confidence and attract the sound judgment of the sounder elements. It is the duty of every Socialist Labor Party man to do all in his power to spread the Party's press and literature; in other words, to be an educational factor. Moreover, the Socialist Labor Party man must lay aside all petty personalities. It is the working people who the Socialist Labor Party must gather in its folds—the working people with all their virtues and also with their faults. It is the working people, good, bad, and indifferent who we must assimilate into one solid mass, with but one mind upon the economic and political issues of the day.

That there is a tendency in our Party to run "De Leonism" into the ground is a fact that more than one of our members have noticed. "De Leonism," or S. L. Pism, rather, does not consist in calling freak, crook, fakir, ignoramus or "intellectual" any member of the working class, or other classes for that matter, who happens to hold a different opinion on some things from ourselves; but, on the other hand, it consists in PROVING TO BE FREAKS, CROOKS, FAKIRS AND IGNORAMUSES those, of no matter what class or denomination, who attempt to lead, direct, or speak for labor, and either know nothing about its condition or are openly or concealably the servants of the capitalist class.

Comrades, the Socialist Labor Party has entered upon a different stage of evolution from that which it occupied five to ten years ago. Let us recognize it, and, of all things, let us evolve with the Party.

Lowell says:

"New occasions teach new duties;
Time makes ancient good uncouth;
They must upward still, and onward,
Who would keep abreast with
Truth."

It would be as stupid now to "stay in Bulgaria" as it would have been dangerous to "go to Italy" before our time.
Olive M. Johnson.
Oakland, Cal., Nov. 13.

ALWAYS RIGHT ON THE TRADES UNION.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Enclosed find money order, for which continue sending the Weekly People for one year. Its position on the trades union has always been right. H. B.
Canton, O., Nov. 28.

BACK NUMBERS WANTED.

Comrade Miller would like to get possession of the following issues of the Weekly People: November 8, 15, 22, and 28, year of 1902. He will pay a reasonable price for said copies.

Address, C. Haselgrove, 20 East Front street, Newport, Ky.

Section Cincinnati.

Watch the label on your paper. That will tell you when your subscription expires. First number indicates the month, second, the day, third the year.

LETTER-BOX OFF-HAND ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS

[NO QUESTIONS WILL BE CONSIDERED THAT COME IN ANONYMOUS LETTERS. ALL LETTERS MUST CARRY A BONA FIDE SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS.]

A. G. B., DETROIT, MICH.—As to others, we say to you—send in matter. The best will be done here that is possible. But don't spoil the gift by demanding personal explanations. The paper is small, smaller still the force to man it, and huge the volume of communications sent.

A. S., PITTSBURGH, PA.—First—The gentleman is a wise man in his generation. The addition of the proviso "if there is any profit" to the statement that the Volkszeitung Corporation and Wayland "return all profits to their party for agitational and other purposes" is a cautious act. If the proviso were not put in, the falseness of the statement could be readily exposed. All one would have to do is to demand a report of such surrendered profits. Of course, there is none. The two concerns have no profits to give to agitation. Their own maws are too fathomless for anything to fall outside.

Second—The price of "Der Arbeiter" for six months is twenty-five cents.

E. L. B., DETROIT, MICH.—If you have the means to procure it and the time to read it, Mommsen's is the best history of Rome. But even with him you will need Lewis H. Morgan's "Ancient Society" as a corrective. Mommsen falls into frequent errors on the tribal origin of Rome. If you have no means or time for all that, Plutarch's lives may do. His lives of Romans constitute a pretty good history on Rome.

A. L. W., BOSTON, MASS.—Such charges against "3:50" should come at first, not at second hand.

P. G. C., OSWEGO, N. Y.—Send on the matter.

D. J., NEW YORK.—It is not so easy to explain the difference between the British Independent Labor Party and the British Social Democratic Federation. These two points of distinction may, however, be mentioned:

The I. L. P. is uniformly "broad"; the S. D. F. is "broad" and "narrow" by fits.

The I. L. P. applies its broadness to its organization and consistently allows its members the right of free speech; the S. D. F. applies only its "narrowness" to its organization; it exercises the right of heresy hunting. It expels whoever criticises it in other Social papers. That was the straw that broke the camel's back and started the British S. L. P.

H. S. A., CHICAGO, ILL.—That's news! Where does Marx allow room for the conclusion that he was a single taxer? There is plenty of evidence, pointed and conclusive, of Marx's holding to the nationalization of land (natural opportunities) as well as of capital (social opportunities)—but of single taxism? We never saw it! Hitherto, even the worst enemies of Marx never questioned the soundness of his economic logic. Marx's reputation for economic logic would stand on shaky legs if it could be shown that he held any such hairbrained notion as that the single tax would "free the land."

D. A., PHILADELPHIA, PA.—In some States the S. L. P. vote went up; in others it went down. Official returns are not yet in from all parts. In Pennsylvania the vote seems to have gone up.

A. S., PASCOAG, R. I.—The question has been forestalled. A full account of Masaniello appeared in the Sunday People. It was crowded out of the last Weekly by more pressing articles. It will appear in the next Weekly.

J. B., NEW YORK.—The exact popular vote cast at the late election has not yet been officially announced. Shall be published when ascertained.

D. C. W., BALTIMORE, MD.—Our understanding of the case is that the Pullman and the Chicago stockyard Unions are A. L. U.

F. D., WORCESTER, MASS.—The point is covered by the S. L. P. Resolution on Trades Unionism. "Politics" is the name that the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class give to Socialist economics. Preach capitalist economics, and they will laud you. Preach Socialist economics and they will raise the howl that you are "introducing politics into the Union," and that you are a "Union smasher."

F. L., SAN ANTONIO, TEX.—All that the S. L. P. delegate saw of Rosa Luxemburg at Amsterdam has appeared in the "Flash Lights." Her reputation in the bourgeois press of Germany for an "uncompromising revolutionist in petticoats" is probably justified. We have not notes enough on her for a separate "Flash Light" article. Pamphlets received.

L. K., PHILADELPHIA, PA.—First—In many papers Turati and his wing are referred to as standing outside of the Italian Socialist movement. In other papers they are referred to as the reform wing of a body of which Ferri is the

moderator, or centrist. At any rate the Turati wing did not appear at Amsterdam.

Second—Germany has passed the first disruptive stage. Whether a second disruptive stage is in store for it depends upon circumstances.

Third—Whether a "harmony stage," once reached, "nothing but harmony is in store for that movement" depends. In a Germany, for instance, where a clip and clear Socialist party, such as France and America have, is out of question, a second disruptive stage is quite within the range of possibility. There the disruption would result from the Socialists refusing to deal with bourgeois parties. There, accordingly, the disruption would proceed from the improved conditions that would enable the bourgeois radicals to go it alone, and inversely would spur the Socialists to square their actions with their words. But take America. It started with the "harmony" stage; the "disruptive" stage followed from material conditions. The "harmony" stage is certain to return, as indicated in the "Ferri and Bulgaria" flash light. But who would venture to say that, after that, "harmony" would be perennial? He must be a bold man. A second "disruptive" stage is, we should say, certain to come. Our conviction arises from the double circumstance that the power of corruption and of political chicanery that our capitalist class is gifted with is great: it will set up a new "Socialist" party to split the then united one. The second circumstance from which our conviction of a future "disruptive" stage flows is that the present S. P. or S. D. P. has set the example and established a precedent. It set up a new "Socialist" party despite the existence of a former one; it set up false slogans of "broadness," "heresy-hunting," etc.; and it set the deplorable example of turning itself into a "house of refuge" for unquestionably tainted men whom the S. L. P. cast off—all of which scenes and slogans will be repeated in the American Movement, including the claim that "the best men have left the party." No, the stage of "harmony" does not mean continued harmony. We are not aware that any violence is done to scientific terminology by the terminology used in that "flash-light."

A. C. F., NEW HAVEN, CT.—Shall take the hint.

J. M. R., TORONTO, CANADA.—You do not state facts enough to form an opinion. Does the organization, in its statutes, provide for cases of dereliction in dues? If it does, such provisions determine the case. If it does not, then the resignation of a member in arrears is wholly within the organization's province to either accept or refuse.

A. G. D., SEATTLE, WASH.—First—That course of reading is good. The literature advertised in these columns, if read through, will afford a liberal education on economics, sociology and history. Read them all.

Second—The "Flash-Lights" are to be published in book form, together with all the documents they refer to. "The Irrepressible Class Conflict in Colorado," ditto.

Third—The Editor of The People authorizes the answer that the wisdom of a certain Spanish expression would, in his opinion, stand in the way of any such proposal. When in Spanish the incongruousness of an idea is to be pointed out, one says that such a thing would be "like clapping spurs on a Saint."

Inversely, and for that reason, the Editor of The People holds that the clapping of the name of Saint to a man who has spurs on would be an incongruity. Hence he disapproves of the "Saint Daniel" proposal. It is incongruous.

F. R., SAN ANTONIO, TEX.—Now to your second question:

If we could reach the moon with our hands, or carry water in a sieve, or fish for whales in a tub—what would happen? Tell us that, and we will answer your question: "What will happen if the workers were organized into a class Union, and through assessments established clothing factories, lodging houses and farms upon which the unemployed could work, receiving in payment the product of their labor which would go into a general fund, from which they could work, receiving in payment the dividend produced of any product of their labor, but no money?" Answer us, and we shall answer you.

But if you allow us to break your question in two, leaving only the first part: "What will happen if the workers were organized into a class Union?" then we are ready to answer you now. What would happen is that the capitalist system would almost instantaneously melt away like wax before the broiling sun, and the workers would not need to bother about the unemployed. The Socialist Republic would rise upon the heels

(Continued on page 8.)

